HISTORICAL AND COMPARATIVE STUDY OF KUNBIS OF COASTAL KARNATAKA AND ABORIGINE TRIBES OF GOA

Ph D Thesis

Department of Tribal Studies
Kannada University, Hampi
Vidyaranya - 583 276

Faculty of Social Sciences
Kannada University, Hampi
Vidyaranya - 583 276
www.kannadauniversity.org

321

October 2008

ಪರಾಮರ್ಶೆಗೆ ಮಾತ್ರ

"ಸಿರಿಗನ್ನಡ" ಗ್ರಂಥಾಲಯ

ಕನ್ನಡ ವಿಶ್ವವಿದ್ಯಾಲಯ, ಹಂಪಿ

ವಿದ್ಯಾರಣ್ಯ ಪಿಲಸಿ ೨೭೬

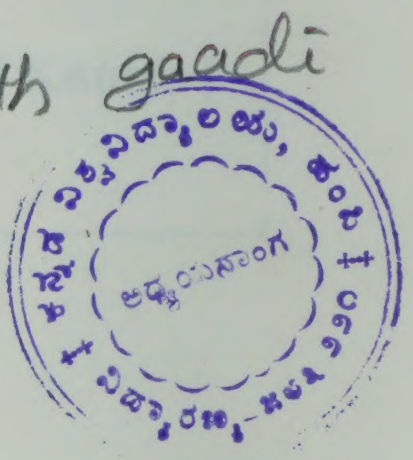
AKSHARA GRANTHALAYA
ACC.NO. 049214

HISTORICAL AND COMPARATIVE STUDY OF KUNBIS OF COASTAL KARNATAKA AND ABORIGINE TRIBES OF GOA

Ph D Thesis

Department of Tribal Studies
Kannada University, Hampi
Vidyaranya - 583 276

Sh. Shanbu Sreekanth gaadi



Faculty of Social Sciences
Kannada University, Hampi
Vidyaranya – 583 276
www.kannadauniversity.org

October 2008

307.772

049214

Evedesh Tuvi Kurmivarjan Eko Vajrahasti |
Sanadmratko Dayate ||

Sa Stomya Sa Havya Satya Satva Tuvi Kunbis |

Ekashchit Sanabhi Bhooti ||

CONTENTS

	Declaration	III
	Certificate	IV
	Acknowledgements	V
	Appendix	VIII
	Map	IX
	List of Tables	X
I.	Introduction	1
II.	The origin and Migration	23
III.	Marriage	77
IV.	Religious Organisation	103
V.	Economic Organisation	139
VI.	Political Organisation	166
VII.	Summary and Conclusion	188
	Interview	221
	Glossary	226
	Annexure I	230
	Annexure II	231
	Bibliography	232
	List of the Photos	236
	Photos	237

APPENDICES

1. List of plants, plants of which are used by Kunbis in various contexts. 210
(Medicinal Plants/Trees used by Kunbis)

2 List of animals, Birds associated with Kunbis in various context. 214

3 List of the words from Mundari Language used by the Aborigine tribes of Goa in their local Konkani Language. 215

4. List of the words from Mundari language used by the Kunbis of Karnataka in the local Kannanda Language. 217

5. List of Kunbi villages & settlements taluka wise. 219

6. Interview Schedule. 221

MAPS

List of the Maps	Page
1. Map showing the Human Migrations	i
2. Ancient map of Goa	ii
3. Map showing Kunbi settlements in Dakshina Kannada and Udupi District	iii
4. Map of Karnataka, percentage of Tribal population to total population	iv
5. Map of Goa, percentage of Tribal Population to total population	v

LIST OF TABLES

Table		Page No.
2.1	Table showing alcohol consumed by the Kunbis, Gawda, and Velip.	55
2.2	Level of education of respondents and their fathers.	57
2.3	Education of the Parents of the respondents	59
2.4	Aspiration of the parents for their children's education.	60
3.1	Respondents' attitude towards marriageable age for girls.	83
4.1	Temples of Kunbis.	130
5.1	Awareness / use of modern methods of Agricultural improvement by the Kunbi farmers.	150
5.2	Occupation of the respondent's wives.	151
5.3	Occupation of the respondents Parents from Dakshina Kannada District.	152
5.4	Occupation of the respondents Parents from Goa.	152
5.5	Type of Houses.	153
5.6	Fuel used.	154
5.7	Distribution of respondents of Goa according to total annual family income from all sources.	155
5.8	Distribution of respondents of Dakshina Kannada District according to total annual family income from all sources.	156
5.9	Occupational views of respondents for their Children.	158

5.10 Distribution of respondents by their nature / type of help taken from the Govt. agencies. 160
6.1 New organizations of Kunbis. 176
6.2 Expectations of the Respondents from the Govt. 178
6.3 Social welfare benefits availed from the Govt. 179
6.4 Ways of Solving land litigations. 180
6.5 Nature of membership. 181
6.6 Taluka – wise distribution of ST population of Goa and its Percentage. 182

Human Migration

Fossil or artifact site

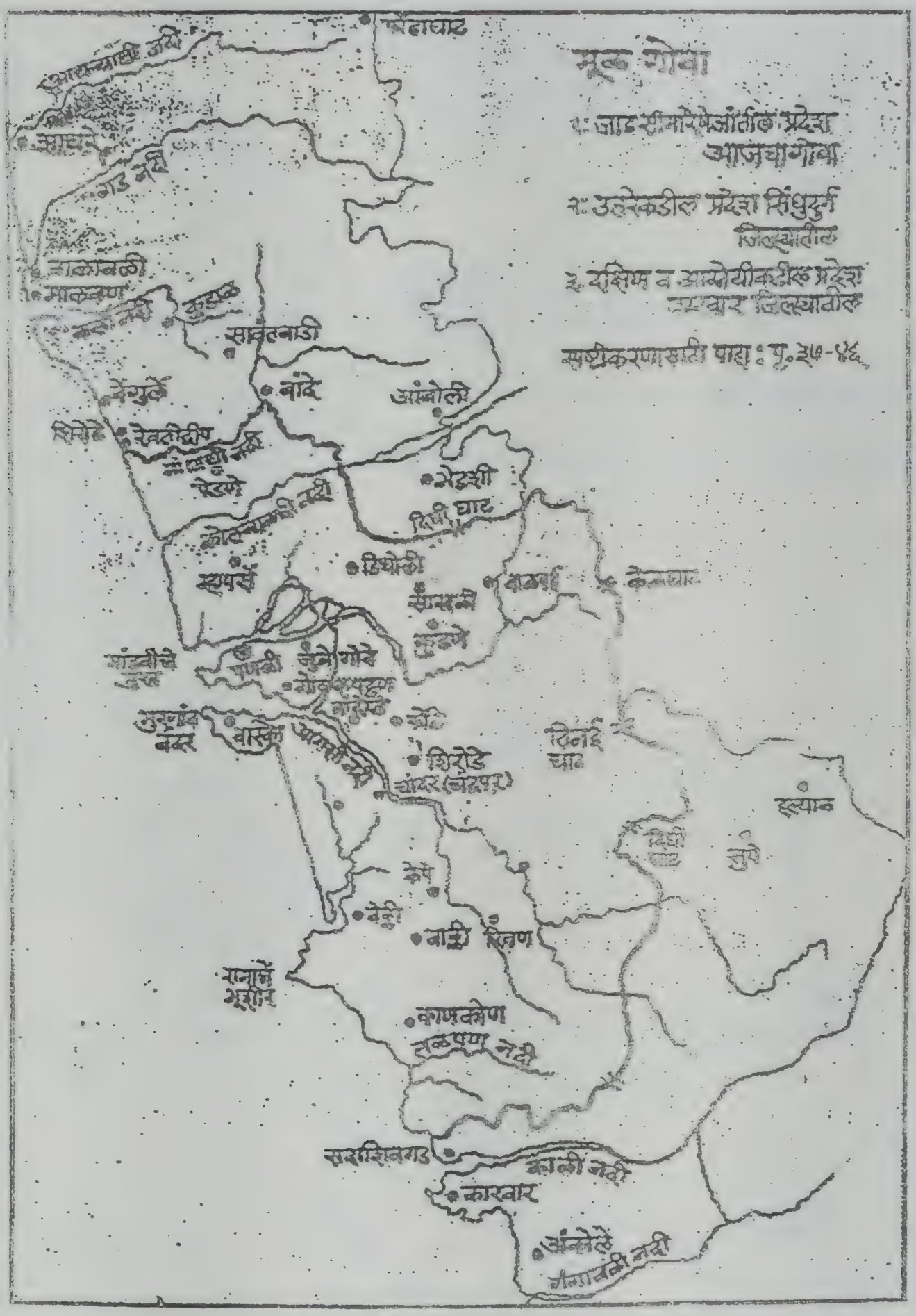
40,000 years ago — Migration date

Generalized route

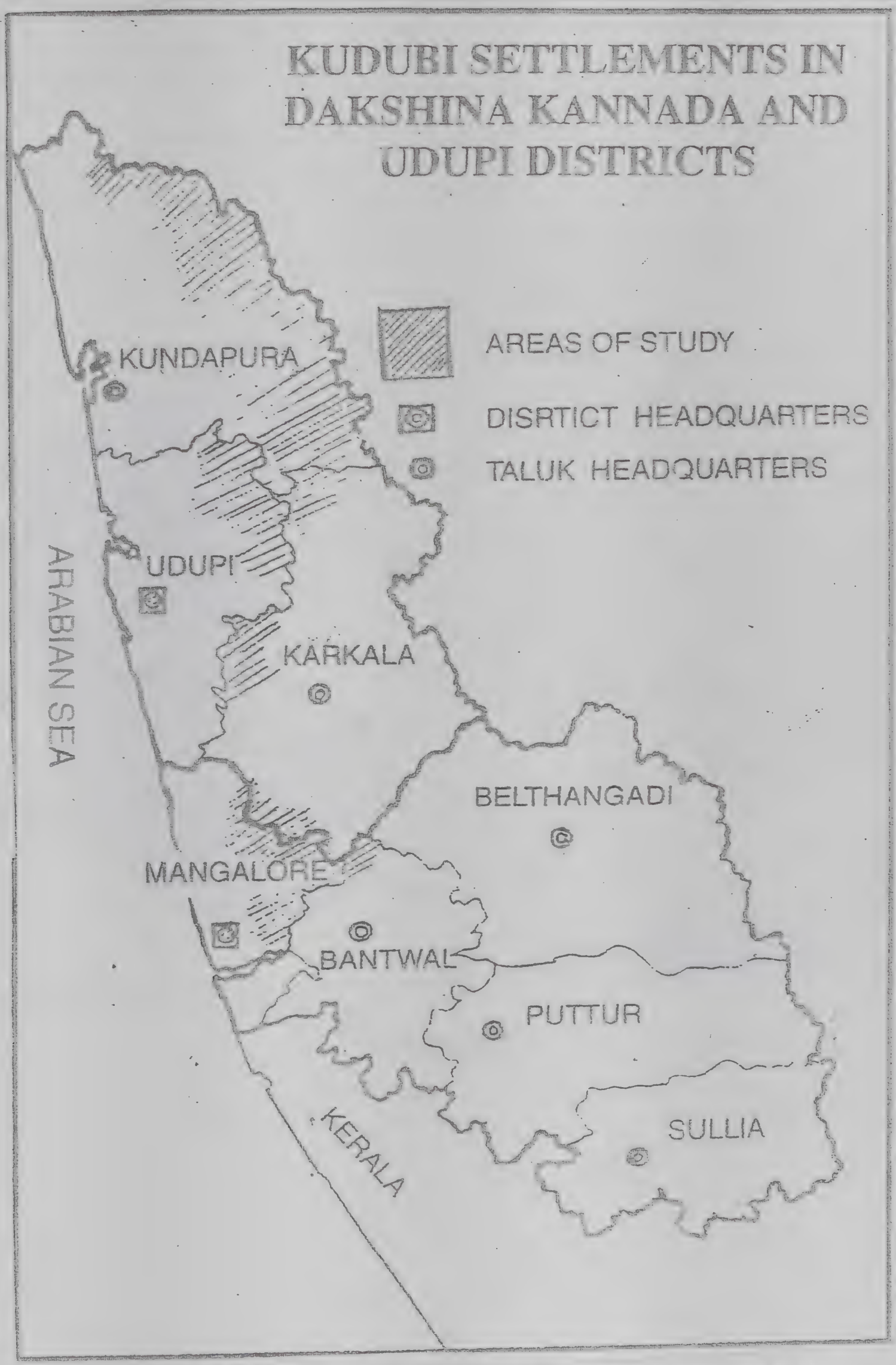
SOURCES: SUSAN ANTÓN, NEW YORK UNIVERSITY; ALISON BROOKS, GEORGE WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY; PETER FORSTER, UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE; JAMES F. O'CONNELL, UNIVERSITY OF UTAH; STEPHEN OPPENHEIMER, OXFORD UNIVERSITY; SPENCER WELLS, NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC SOCIETY; OFER BAR-YOSEF, HARVARD UNIVERSITY

NGM MAPS

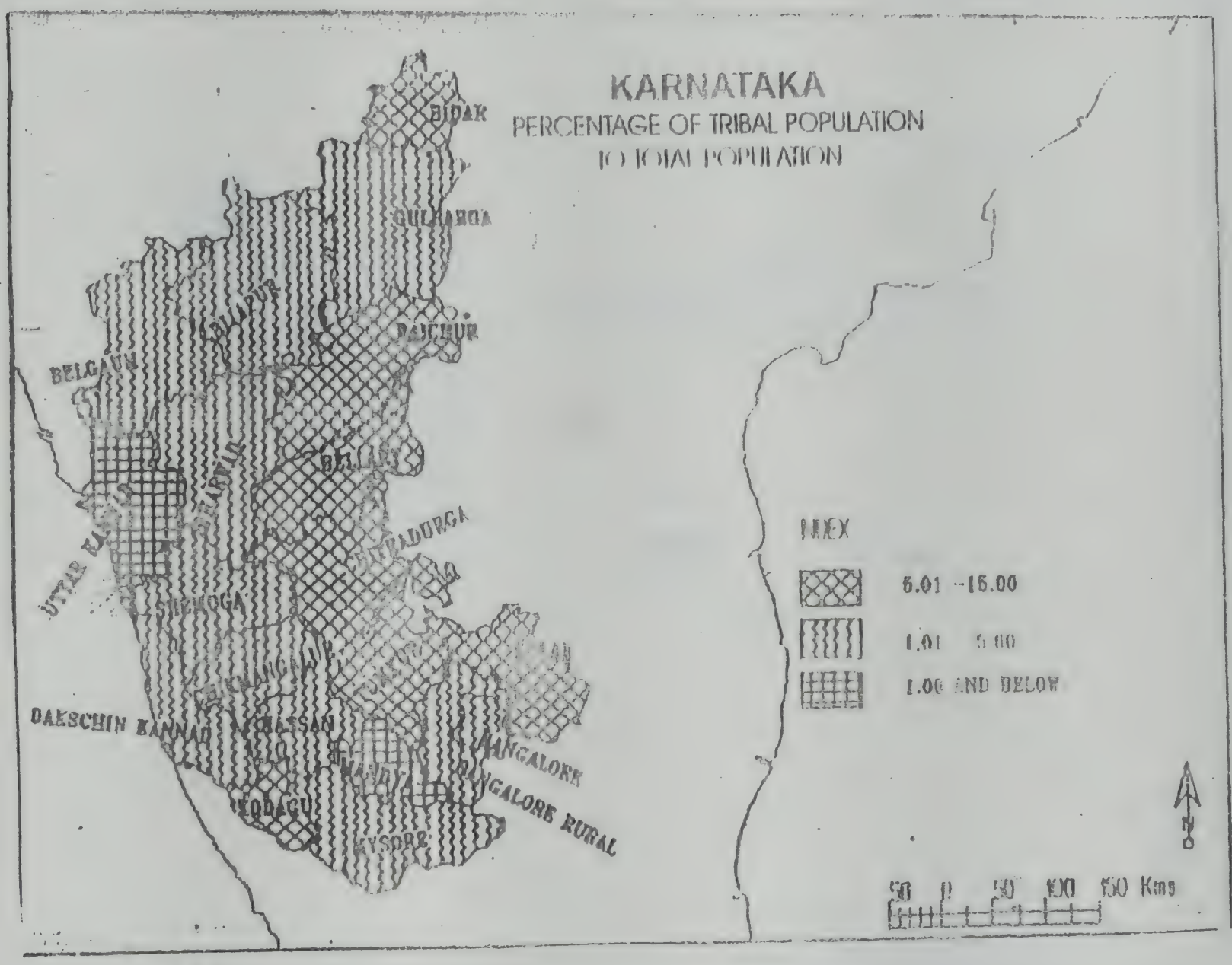
ANCIENT MAP OF GOA



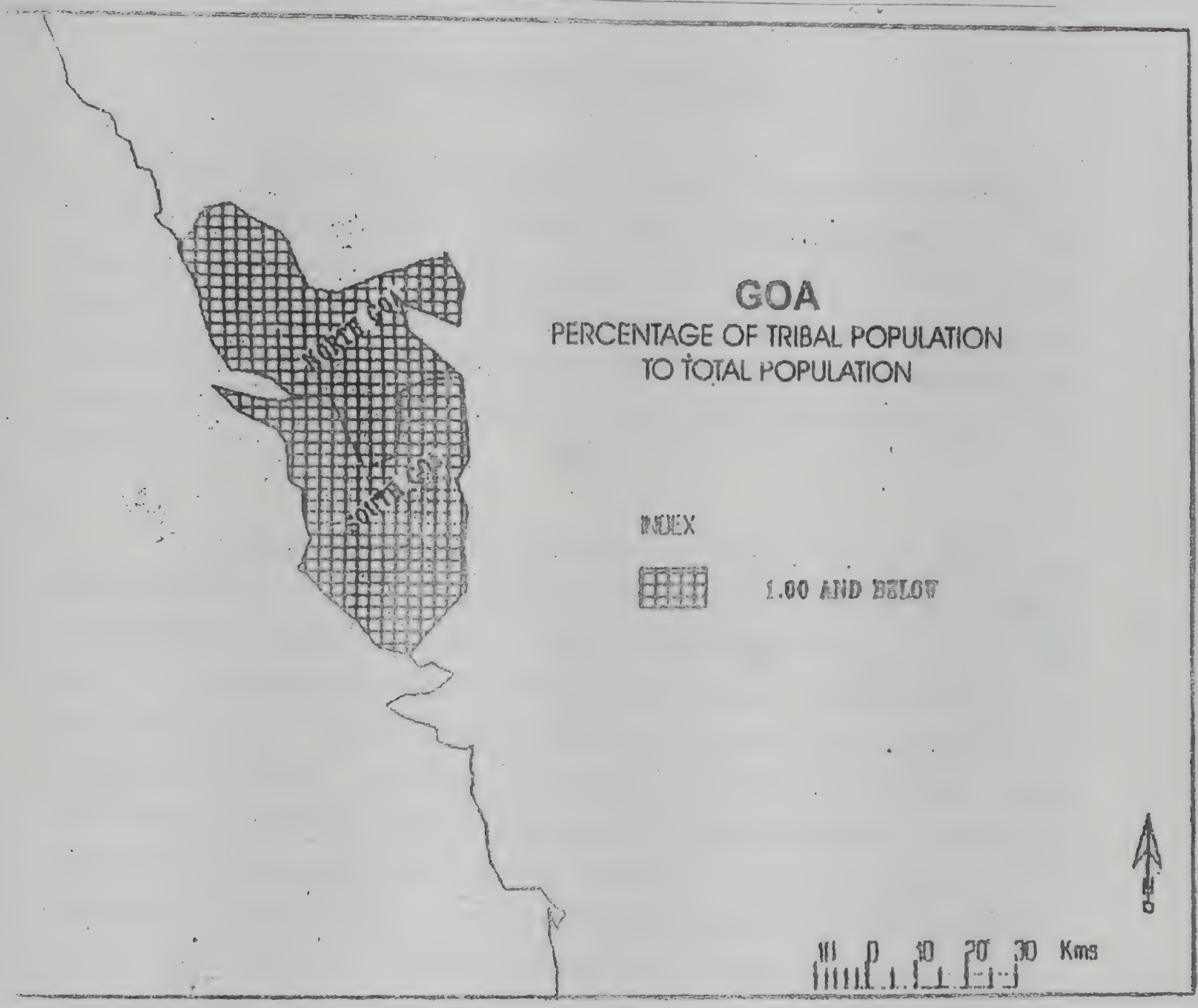
Source:- Book 'Gomantak Prakruti anni Sanskruti' I :Satosker B.D:98:1979.



Source: - Book 'Goa Kunbi' by shri Vinayak Vishnu Kedeker: 12: 2004.



Source: - Census record of 2001



Source: - Census record of 2001

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Over the years, a section of India's population living in certain pockets of the country that were deprived of the benefits of progress of the country as a whole, due to their being primitive in their traits, their Geographical isolation, their distinct culture, their shyness to contact with others and their general backwardness. They are the tribal people of the country.

A tribe is an endogamous group having its own nomenclature. They usually form their own settlements away from other society and they vary in different traits. Each tribe has its own patron deities, rites, and rituals. "Anthropologists and Sociologist would today generally agree that a tribe is an indigenous unit, isolated, having a definite ethic traits following backward mixed economy, homogeneous, speaking a common language or dialect, claiming a descent, living in a particular geographical area, pre-literate and observing distinct social and political custom based on kinship"(Christoph, vonfurer-Haimendorf : 1909 : 24). The tribal societies, like any other societies have been changing, but being simple society, changed slowly compared to complex societies.

"India has second largest tribal population after Africa, constituting 8.2% of the total population of the nation as per 2001 census"(www.cencucindia.gov.in:1). The tribes constitute an important segment of Indian society.

They differ significantly from non-tribal development. Tribal problems and the similarities between the Kunbis of Goa and the Dakshina Kannada District have been some of the important themes of social research in India.

THE ABORIGINAL TRIBES OF GOA

"After Negritos, the race arrived in India was the Proto-Austoroloid. The first tribe to arrive in India was the Kol from the Proto-Austroloid race. Probably they may be the first tribe to arrive in Goa. In due course they may have migrated towards the coastal area like Sindhudurga, now they are known as Koli. They themselves engaged in fishing occupation. Mundari tribe arrived in Goa after Kol, settled for a while and migrated towards north-east of India, to the Chota Nagpur area of Madhya Pradesh. They had the dominant position in Goa, as can be seen from the village name Kolamb, Kothambi, Khotigao, Colva derived from the word Kol, whereas there are none recorded with a Mundari derivation. The Mundari tribe probably arrived in Goa many centuries after the Kol had spread throughout Goa. The Munda of the Mundari tribe settled in peaceful alliance with the warring Kol tribe, under their protection and as their subordinates. In, Chota Nagpur, the Mundari, and Kol had lived in separate hamlets and the Mundari considered the Kol as their inferiors, but in Goa the role seem to have been reversed. The Gawdas, Kunbis and Velip are the first settlers of Goa from the Proto-

Austoroloid race" (Satoskar, B D: 1979:15-23). They believe animal or tree or flower as their Kul Devata. These two tribes introduced their own deities and tree worship in Goa, in the fashion they did in Chota Nagpur. Earlier, the Kol had initiated the worship of pimpol and vodd. Both these trees have aerial roots, which had a mystical connotation in the primitive mind.

"The Gawda word may be derived from the word 'Gao' means the settler of village or the 'Gay' means Cow. Kunbi word may be derived from the word 'Kungi', which means the part of cultivable land, as they were mainly engaged in agriculture"(Kosambi Damodar Dharmanand:1998:166). These two tribes had their own way of worshiping deities and also the village administration, presided by the village headman.

Today's Kunbis of Dakshina Kannada District might have been migrated from Goa at the time of conversion or due to present political boundaries Dakshina Kannada District comes under Karnataka State where as according to ancient Map of Goa Dakshina Kannada District was the part of Goa.

Though Kunbis of Dakshina Kannada District are tribes, and their social and economic position is as poor as the other tribes in Karnataka are, nevertheless, they had been included in group 'B' by the government of Karnataka till 1973. They were re-classified as the 'most backward caste' by the Govt. of Karnataka in 1994 as per the recommendations of Chinnappa Reddy Commission.

The Kunbis have been left out from the scheduled Tribe position, the earlier governor of Karnataka thought that there was a need to designate Kunbis as Scheduled Tribes, various Ministers, scholars and writers expressed their views

expressed their views in favor of including them in the category of scheduled Tribe. The present study focuses on the comparison between the Gawdas, Kunbis, and Velip of Goa and Kunbis of Dakshina Kannada District on the living and dietary habits, the food taboos, language, economy, political organization, structure and function of marriage etc.

THE CONCEPT OF A TRIBE

The Study deals with Kunbis of coastal Karnataka and the aborigine tribes of Goa, it seems proper that researcher examine the concept of tribe so that the discussion can be more precise. The English word 'tribe' is derived from the Latin 'Tribus', one of the three political division or patrician orders of ancient Rome. Later, when the numbers of political divisions were increased to 30 and eventually to 35, the original term remained and indicated division. In later period, the term assumed other meanings. Thus, in certain areas of the western world, it stood for a division of a territory allotted to a family or community. According to the oxford Dictionary, the term refers to a race of people, now applied especially to a primary aggregate of people in a primitive, backward or barbarous condition under a headman or a chief. Thus, the concept of tribe has been changing. At present, there is no agreement even among the anthropologists and sociologist regarding the definition of a tribe. They give various descriptions of a tribe. This is because of the diversity of systems and practices found among the tribal people. "There is controversy among the scholars, reformers and administrators with regard to an adequate terminology for describing these people" (Desai, A.R:1977:17). Risley (1908), Elwin (1943), and Thalkkar (1941) have described the tribes as 'aborigines', Hutton (1961) calls them 'primitives tribes'. Ghurye (1963) describe them as the 'so called aborigines' or as backward

'Hindus'. Some scholars and reformers call them 'adivasis'. Today, the most common administratively used term in India is 'Scheduled Tribes'.

Various studies on tribes in India are generally related to the 'Scheduled Tribes'. The term 'Scheduled Tribe' refers to those communities that have been 'Scheduled' or listed for special treatment in compliance with the provisions of the Constitution of India. However, there are many other communities and ethnic group like Kunbis of Karnataka, or Dhangars of Goa etc, which could be designated as 'Scheduled Tribes' but are not 'Scheduled.' "There are tribes, which are not 'Scheduled Tribes' named are generally weaker sections of India's population, like the Scheduled Castes"(Sharma, R N:1994:85). When the scholars neglect the study of such tribes, it becomes difficult to arrive at a scientific definition of the concept of tribe. Besides, those tribes who are not 'Constitutionally Scheduled' are also deprived of governmental schemes and benefits.

"The problem of definition is not merely an academic matter. It is, in fact a question of vital concern because the benefits of many of the programmes initiated by the Government for the 'Scheduled Tribes' do not reach them. It is not surprising therefore that every year applications are received from many communities, which want to be included in the Schedule. Consequently, it is necessary to go beyond the administrative definition of a tribe or tribal community" (Kuppuswamy,B: 1977:194). It is the need of the time to plan the activities for the Tribal people in such a way that they will reach to them.

In this context, researcher has a wish to know the similarities between Kunbis of Karnataka and Gawda, Kunbis and Velip of Goa to understand the concept of a tribe more aptly.

OBJECTIVES

1. To know whether the Gawdas, Kunbis, and Velip are aborigine Tribes of Goa.
2. To study the structure of aborigine tribes.
3. To find out the reasons why Kunbis of Goa migrated to costal Karnataka.
4. To study about the economic, social, educational and cultural status.
5. To find out the statistical data of aborigine tribes of Goa.
6. What problems they are facing.
7. To study of their language 'Mundari'.
8. Effects of conversion and re-conversion.
9. Whether there are similarities between Kunbis of Goa and the Kunbis of Karnataka and if so in what respect?

METHODOLOGY

The field and Universe: The study has been conducted in Dakshina Kannada district of Karnataka state and the state of Goa. Since a large number of Kunbis are concentrated in Mangalore, Karkala, Udupi and Kundapura taluka and also in Goa, the respondents were selected from these talukas. Although kunbis are found in two villages in Bantwal taluka yet they are very few in number, here for which no respondents were selected from this taluka. The number of respondents from each taluka is in proportion to the Kunbi population of that taluka. The fieldwork was conducted during

2005-06. While selecting samples all the sub-tribes are represented.

The sample: In order to minimize bias and ensure accuracy in the measurement, it is important to employ a proper sampling technique. Total 200 respondents from Goa (100 male and 100 female) and 200 respondents from Dakshina Kannada (100 male and 100 female) were interviewed in the present study. The respondents were the heads of families. A systematic random sampling technique was adopted for selecting the respondents. Before the selection of sample households, Mandal Pradhans (Head of Mandal Panchayat), Tahasildars, social welfare officials connected with Integrated Tribal Development programme and such other persons were consulted to obtain information relating to Kunbi settlements and villages. District Gazetter and manuals helped in tracing the Kunbi and aborigine tribes of Goa settlements.

The Kunbi tribal settlements were selected in different villages both from the developed and backward areas. The respondents were contacted with the help of people such as teachers, students, and Panchayat authorities who were familiar with the tribal.

Tools and Techniques: Participant observation and interview techniques were used is this study. The data pertaining to their history were obtained through the records maintained by the administrative bodies and through discussion with the elder members of the communities.

Participant observation: To study the living conditions, the researcher stayed in Kunbi settlements for about six months. He participated in their social and religious activities like

festivals, marriage, dance hunting expeditions, worship, collection of herbal plants, mat making etc. Secondly, researcher himself belongs to Gawda community of Goa, so it was easier to obtain the information.

Interview schedule and Group Discussion: Besides collecting data through participant observation, an interview schedule containing both pre-ended and open-ended questions was framed and then administered to the head of the household. The relevant data were collected from the head of the family, head of the village community, Kunbi headman, the local leaders, elders, and knowledgeable members of the community.

Data enabled the researcher to examine their educational awareness and aspirations, occupational aspiration, political awareness, awareness about health, communication and their attitude towards traditional occupations, religious rituals and practices, system of joint family, dress, dowry, food habits, and status of women. The data from the heads of the families contain the attitude, feeling and awareness of Kunbis towards recent changes that are taking place in various fields and areas such as marriage, family, tribal authority, economic organization, status of women, religion, food habits, dress, education etc. From the elderly members of the community the data relating to their social, economic, cultural, and religious matters were collected. The interview schedule was mostly structured. The schedule was prepared in English and administered in local languages i.e. Kannada and konkani.

Group discussion was organized to gain knowledge about the different aspects of the tribal community. The people were frank and open and their responses were revealing during

group discussions. Extreme care was taken to record the divergent views of the members of the community. The group discussion had both advantages and disadvantages. On the positive side, in the group discussion almost each respondent participating in the discussion answered the questions. Similarly, if the respondents gave any incorrect or vague answer, then it was immediately corrected and clarified by other respondents, on the negative side, some respondents were hesitant to express their views freely in the presence of their neighbors and relatives.

Pre-test: To examine feasibility accuracy, capability, and completeness of the data, a pre-test was conducted in three villages viz, Kokkarne, Saibrakattle and Yedthady in Dakshina Kannada and Karmali, Bhati, Margao, Sattari in Goa. The pre-test has enabled us to modify the questionnaires. The questionnaire was revised thoroughly after conducting the pre-test.

Establishing Rapport: Establishing rapport is the most important step in the process of interview. The interview process goes very smoothly once the rapport is built between the interviewer and the respondents. It is difficult to establish rapport with the tribal since they are mostly reserved. Since they have inferiority complex and shyness, they do not come out with strangers freely. The researcher gained their confidence through some people familiar to Kunbis. It was made clear to the respondents that the information offered by them would be used only for study. They were further told the findings of the present study may at one or the other stage would be useful for the welfare and development of the community under some project of the Govt.

The use of local language enabled the researcher to build a good rapport with the respondent during personal interviews, group discussions, and participant observation. Some times the respondents extended hospitality to the researcher in the form of tender coconut, tea, fruits etc.

The researcher also collected data from various other sources. The following documents were consulted.

1. Literature-book, Journals, reports, articles, encyclopedias, subject dictionaries, manuals etc.
2. census records
3. records maintained by the social welfare department
4. District Gazetteers.
5. Other sources such as dailies, weeklies, and monthlies publications relevant to the research projects.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

In the event of review of related literature, it has been notice that comparative study of Kunbis of Dakshina Kannada and the aborigine tribes of Goa are totally neglected even though there are many similarities between them in terms of dimensions, problems, lives, and conditions of tribes. The literature, which is available, is not exhaustive and comprehensive. There is a little feedback on the Kunbis (ST) of Goa and Kunbis of Karnataka (non-tribal) to bring them in to schedule like Gawda, Kunbis, and Velip (Aborigine tribes of Goa) of Goa. Further, the study and research on the non-scheduled tribes has been totally neglected in India. The research carried out on the non- tribes of Dakshina Kannada is very limited. "The study of tribal cultures in Karnataka is in the stage of infancy"(Vidyarthi and Rai:1977:60). More extensive work is required to study the condition of tribal people from the area.

limited. "The study of tribal cultures in Karnataka is in the stage of infancy"(Vidyarthi and Rai:1977:60). More extensive work is required to study the condition of tribal people from the area.

Ranjani Kumari and S. Radhakrishnan have observed that 'Although several social Anthropologists have made valuable studies on the tribes and their cultural history and tradition, including on several tribes of India, there is no information on the comparison between Kunbis of Goa and Kunbis of Karnataka and the similarities between them in respect of social, economic, cultural etc. Studies sponsored by governmental and non-governmental agencies mostly concentrate only on aspects of demographic profiles of the tribes, educational achievements, and economic conditions in the face of developmental efforts and processes. Thus, there has been a general lack of focus on the similarities between Kunbis of Goa and Kunbis of Karnataka and social change, including of educational achievements, on the psyche of the tribal individual and the community, cultural values, traditions, tribal community and family integration etc. Perhaps, that may be the reason Kunbis of Karnataka are not declared as ST.

Luis de Assis Correia, in his book of Goa though the Mists of History from 10000 BC – AD 1958 he casts a searching light on Goa's history during the Portuguese era and book II assigned to a representative galaxy of eminent Goans in 19th Century political Portugal. This book is history in a nutshell, succinct yet informative and eminently readable.

Shri P K Velip Kankar, in his book 'The Kurmis-Kubbis of India' states that the History of Goa is incomplete without the Kunbis as they stand as the ancient and original face of Goa. They were the earliest inhabitants of Goa. They

were the first people to set up ancient Gaunkars from whom the Dravidians and the Aryans usurped rights of the land, who from being the owners of the lands and the villages, they became mere tillers. The Kunbis set up democratic republican agricultural communities in Goa. They tilled the lands on collective bases. There was no private property. They regarded the 'Mand' as the sacred place. Their Gaunpon (the village council) was truly democratic where every Kunbi elder male in each family was represented. The Gawdas and Velips are mere nomenclatures and they belong to the same stock as the Kunbis. They gave to Goa a rich vibrant cultural heritage; the Kunbis are the true heritage of Goa. The Kunbis are not a caste but a community.

Eshwara Joshi describing Kunbis as one of the tribes of Karnataka and presents a brief account of Kunbis of Dakshina Kannada in a short monograph in Kannada. Similarly, subraya Heggade (1985) presents a brief sketch of the life and conditions of Atte Kunbis, one of the sub-divisions of Kunbis living in Uttar Kannada District. Heggade describes Atte Kunbis as a hill tribe of Karnataka. A. V. Navada attempts to discuss briefly the social and cultural life of Kunbis in his monograph written in Kannada. In his article he briefly highlights the dance forms performed by Kunbis on the occasion of Holi festival.

Max Weber, who used the concept of Hinduisation for the first time to refer to the process whereby tribal people strive to improve their status by changing their own custom and rituals into imitation of local Hindus, Weber has made an authentic study of Indian religion and caste system in his work 'The religion of India – The Sociology of Hinduism and Buddhism'. In this work he observes various diffusion patterns

of Hinduism. He observes that the ruling stratum of an 'animistic' tribal territory, begins to imitate specific Hindu customs such as, abstention from meat, particularly beef, refusal for cow slaughter, restriction on intoxicating drinks, restriction on widow re-marriage, early marriage, cremation of dead rather than burial, ancestral death sacrifices, re-baptisation of native deities with the names of Hindu Gods and Goddesses, elimination of tribal priests and appointment of Brahmin priest to conduct ritual concerns. The concept of Hinduisation according to the Weberian has been further developed by various Indian and western sociologists and Anthropologists, for instance, on the processes of Hinduisation of the tribal people, M N Srinivas amplified his concept of Sanskritisation. In the opinion of L K Mahapatra, Srinivas has recently extended the scope of the concept of Sanskritisation to include in it the process of Hinduisation of the tribal people'. Mahapatra refers to Sanskritisation, Hinduisation, westernization, Tribalisation and Brahminisation as specific cultural processes of change.

In the collaborative work, 'The Tribal Culture of India' by Vidyarthi and Rai has summed up the manifold aspects of Indian tribal life. The authors discuss the phases of historical development of Anthropological and tribal studies and present detailed information on tribal literature and a state wise comprehensive picture of Indian tribal research activities, socio-economic system of tribes, their religion, art, craft, folklore, marriage etc, as well as tribal developmental programmes and culture change. Thus, according to them, the key forces, which have induced tribal transformation in the modern world, are westernization, development of communication, introduction of monetized economy, and spread of formal and modern education, extension of services

like medical and administrative aids and exploitation of natural resources through advanced technology. All theses forces have brought about significant changes in tribal areas, but the rate of change varies in different tribes for 'variation preparedness' to accept and use the opportunities.

The authors have also suggested that social changes among the tribes are not to be judged only in terms of the processes and factors, but one has got to see the meaning, assess, and feel the 'feeling' concerned with the object or act in the minds of the tribes. They further opine that the tribes in India are passing through an accelerated phase of transformation and that the equilibrium in the traditional society has greatly been disturbed.

'Goa through the ages' is a five volumes book published by Goa University. Goa is a small state where man has laboured here through centuries to build unique institutions. Its towns, villages, beaches, churches, temples and shrines are renowned world over. Its art, architecture, sculpture, music, drama, dance, and painting are a class by themselves. Its society is a mosaic woven with the social and historic fabric of rare type. History of Goa is indeed a subject of fascinating study. It touches the realm of ideas at more points than almost any other study. This relates to all periods of Goan past, whether ancient, medieval, or modern. It relates to all aspects of life, whether political, social, economic, or cultural. Goa became a melting pot for shaping a synthetic culture absorbed elements of varied types from the earliest times to the present day.

In the study of two major tribes of Bihar viz, Mundas and Oraons, Sachidananda he analyzed the changes that have

occurred among the Mundas and Oranons from the cultural perspective. In other work he has also presented a generalized picture of tribal villages in Bihar covering seven prominent tribes viz, the Oraon, the Ho, the Munda, the Kharia, the Santhal, the Birhor and the Saoria Paharia spread over in different places. In his study, (1964) Sachidananda analyses forces responsible for the transformation of tribes. According to him the impact of new ideas, new ethical values, a new style of life are mainly responsible for transformation of tribal traditional institutional and values.

Thurston, one of the early ethnographers and a pioneer in tribal studies in South Indian presents a brief description of various tribes and castes of South India, including the Kunbis of Dakshina Kannada District. He gives brief information about various customs and traditions observed by Kunbis about a hundred years ago. His description on various tribes is based on his own observations. Though Thurston's work provides brief information regarding various tribes and castes existing in south India, it does not analyses the problems, changes, and developmental programmes of tribals in India.

The book 'Indian Tribes through the Ages', present the historical perspective of Indian tribes, their demography, constitutional and legal provisions relating to various safeguards for their protection and development. It also gives information about their life skills, art and culture. Lacuna of this book is that has not contained any information on the critical evaluation of the existing welfare and developmental programs.

A brief study on Are Kunbis (sub – division of Kunbis) has been done by Nanjundayya and Iyre (1928). They

observed life patterns of Are Kunbis with reference to internal strcture of the tribe, marriage prohibitions, tribal council, religion, Kumari cultivation, religion, dietary, dress etc.

Castes and Tribes of South India: This contains all the scheduled castes and tribes of south India. It denotes various information on social, cultural, economic and anthropological life of south Indian castes and tribal communities, but there is lack of information on development activities.

'Forest and Hill Tribes' Sturrock in Madras District Manuals, South Canara (1894), compiled various castes and tribes of South Canara District. In his study, he has presented a brief account of Kunbis. This study shows that Kunbis - tribes lived in the forest and hills of South Canara District. The study reveals some of their social institutions and practices that existed a century ago. Shri Vinayak Vishnu Khedeker, in his book 'The Goa Kunbis' he highlight all the aspects of the life of aboriginal tribes of Goa. He discussed about the food habits, Marriage, economic condition, migration from other state, education etc.

Peer and Heggade in their evaluation reports on the impact of various developmental programmes implemented during the decade 1980-90 for the social and economic development of tribal population in Karnataka have briefly highlighted the present conditions of Kunbis. Their report on Kunbis was mainly based on the data obtained from 50 Kunbi households drawn from Dakshina Kannada.

A socio-Anthropological study of Savarasa of Assam on various aspects such as religious, political, social institution has been done by R K Kar (1981). The findings of the study

reveals that there is disintegration of the traditional traits of culture. Krishnaiah has contributed a few articles based on a survey conducted on Holi festival of Kunbis. In the article entitled, 'Kunbi vesas' (1991) the author gives a brief account of cultural life of Kunbis with special reference to their traditional dress habits and the costumes used at Holi festival. In the article 'Holi Festival of the Kunbis', he throws light on some religious rites of Kunbis associated with the celebration of Holi festival.

Karnataka state Gazetteer part II, chapter X, topic social service was published by The Government of Karnataka in 1983. It denotes information on Historical development of tribal communities and various developmental activities undertaken during the planning era, social, Economic and cultural life of tribal's in the state.

Sachidananda in his study on Munda tribes of Northern India observes that Mundas were under the strong influence of Hinduism. The impact was chiefly found in their worship, deities, marriage ceremonies, language, wearing of sacred thread, sacred thread ceremony and other practices. According to Sachidananda, the constant and close interaction between tribes and non-tribal populations has led to the convergence of many aspects of their cultures. There has been an acculturation of the tribes to non-tribal norms and customs. There is a constant transition from the tribal ranks to caste Hindu society. Some common Hindu values and customs have been thoroughly internalized by the tribes that they are scarcely distinguishable from purely tribal traits. He further points out that the process of Hinduisation or following the form of Hinduism is an important factor of tribal change.

B.D.Satoskar, in his book 'Gomantak Prakruti ani Sawskruti' (Marathi) published by Shubhada – Saraswat publication, Pune, denotes information about tribes of Goa which is not accepted by Historians as that book says that tribal people were brought by Saraswat to Goa. In reality Saraswat belong to Aryans who came very late in Goa but before that tribals were already settled in Goa, and this information has strong evidence.

Myth and reality, by Damodar Dharmanand Kosambi and published by popular Prakashan Pvt. Ltd. Mumbai 1998, gives the information about the Gods and Goddesses of Goa and their religious practice but it is of limited section of the people.

The above survey of some studies in Indian tribes in general and Kunbis in particular indicate that many attempts have been made in tribal studies on life, changing strategy of development. The reports published on Kunbis in the form of various articles are neither scientific nor exhaustive. Therefore, these publications do not provide adequate information on Kunbi society. However, these publications show that the Kunbi tribes have attracted the attention of several people. Hence, in the present study, an attempt is made to focus our interest on the similarities among the Kunbis of Dakshina Kannada district and the aboriginal tribes of Goa in terms of their history, culture, Marriage, food habits, dress, social and economic statues along with the political organisation. This study is a sincere attempt to get schedule Tribe status to the Kunbis of Dakshina Kannada District.

CONCLUSION

Different methods were used, like participation, observation, and interview to collect the data to achieve desired objectives. Their customs, festivals, dance forms, marriage practices, hunting expeditions etc. were thoroughly studied through participation and observation method.

Moreover, the data were also collected from the different sources such as head of the family, the head of the village community, the local leaders, and senior citizens of the community. Besides these methods, the data were also collected from two hundred respondents out of which one hundred and twenty male and eighty females through interviews using structured and pre-tested schedules. In addition to this discussion, methods were also used wherever required clarifying the matter. Some information was collected from district census and other records maintained in the Social welfare, Education and Revenue Departments. The data were recorded in the fieldwork diary. After the completion of fieldwork, the data were processed and tabulated manually in accordance with the requirements of the various aspects of the study. The results of the analysis have been interpreted and on this basis the thesis has been prepared.

Along with the Gawda and Velip in Goa, Kunbis are also listed in the Schedule and they got the status of Schedule Tribe. But, even though the Kunbis of Dakshina Kannada are from same stock, they are in non – scheduled tribes in the State of Karnataka. They are predominantly found in Kundapur and Mangalore taluka and a small percentage of them are found in Udupi and Karkala (Udupi District) and Bantwal taluka in Dakshina Kannada District of Karnataka State. Kunbis are the aboriginal stock of Goa. They came to Karnataka State from

Goa about four centuries ago. Having also settled in Uttara Kannada District (called Atte Kunbis) in Karnataka State and some part of Kerala and Maharastra, Kunbis have established themselves as an important tribe of South India. They are socially backward, educationally and economically poor, and politically unorganized. They may be regarded as one of the weakest groups in Dakshina Kannada District.

Largely, the scholarly studies on tribes in India are restricted to Scheduled Tribes. However, there are many ethnic groups and communities like Kunbis and nomadic tribes like Halakki, Okkaligas, Ladakkis, Dombaris, Lambanis etc., which have distinctly tribal features but are not "Scheduled". The neglect of such tribes by scholars renders their studies inexhaustive. Kunbis are tribes and their social and economic position is as low as the other tribes in Karnataka. Nevertheless, they have not been included in the list of 'Scheduled Tribes' by the Government.

It is important to note that, so far, no systematic empirical study has been conducted on Kunbis of Dakshina Kannada and the aboriginal tribes of Goa. Hence, a comprehensive scholarly work on the life and problems of Kunbis is not available. However, a few articles and write-ups published in regional and national newspapers as well as a few reports in District Gazetteers and State Manuals are available, which show that the Kunbis have attracted the attention of journalists and a few early ethnographers. Some of these facts and problems prompted the selection of Kunbi tribes for the present study. The study shows the similarities between the Kunbis and the aboriginal tribes of Goa in respect of their life viz. social, cultural, religious, economic, and political. More specifically the following are the major findings of the study.

Like the other section of the society the Kunbis are traditionally divided into several sections. It is observed that, today a few Kunbis excommunicated from Kunbi society have formed their own new group known as 'Jati Kunbis' thus giving birth to an additional sub-division. The name of the Kunbi sub-divisions clearly indicates that these divisions were formed after they settled down in Dakshina Kannada District. Like many tribes in India, Kunbis live in villages. They have formed their own separate settlements and hutments within the village. The housing conditions of the majority of the Kunbis are poor. A significant proportion of them are living in very poor dwellings.

REFERENCES

Christoph, von furer-Haimendorf, *A Himalayan Tribe* (California: University of California press,1909).

Correia Luis de Assis, *Goa through the Mist of History from 10000 BC-AD 1958* (Panaji: Maureen publishers Pvt. Ltd, 2006).

Desai, A R, *Tribes in Transition, Caste & Religion in India* (Delhi:MacMillan India Ltd., 1977).

Kuppuswamy, B, *Social Change in India* (New Delhi : Vikas Publication,1977).

Kosambi Damodar Dharmanand, Myth and Reality, (Mumbai:Popular Prakashan, 1998).

Sharma R N, Social Anothropology and India Tribes (West Sussex: J.K.Publishers.1994).

Satosker, B D, 'Gomantak Prakruti ani Sawskruti', Vol. II (Pune: Shubhada-Saraswat Publication,1982).

---

* Numbers shown in brackets in the tables represents the percentage and D.K.stands for Dakshina Kannada District.

CHAPTER II

THE ORIGIN AND MIGRATION

Various aspects are taken into consideration in this chapter and attempt is made to examine the origin and migration along with social and cultural life of Kunbis with respect to their origin, migration, social stratification, settlement patterns and housing, dialect, food habits, health, education and dress. The similarities between Kunbis of Karnataka and the Kunbis of Goa have also been discussed here which will certainly help to list their name in the schedule.

"The small and picturesque state of Goa is variously known as 'The Tropical Paradise of Tourist' and the 'Golden Gateway' of commerce. The Goa is located about the mid-way on the west coast of India within the latitudes of 14^0 53' 57"N and the longitudes of 73^0 40' 54" E and 74^0 20'11" E. Ensconced on the slopes of the Western Ghats, which skirt its eastern boundary and lapped by the blue expanse of the Arabian Sea in the west, Goa admeasures an area of about 3701 sq. kms. It stretches out to a width of about 60 kms. in an east-west direction and extends to a length of about 105 kms. from the north to the south"(Education Dept. Goa:2002:10). Goa changed many political hand and her boundaries kept changing. One often wonders what ancient Goa must have been like. "The present boundaries of Goa came into existence in the year 1791"(Sheik, Ali B:1990:193). They were the result of a long and conquered colonial political history.

The history of the Goan map takes us to the Gangavalli River in the Karwar district of modern Karnataka. Recently researcher had the occasion to study the boundary of ancient southern Goa. Next the researcher would like to go up to the northern boundaries of ancient Goa, which ran from the Achra River in the Kudal region of modern Maharastra. "The modern states of Maharastra and Karnataka have always bullied tiny state of Goa and usurped much of the Konkani speaking territory"(Satoskar, B.D:1979:39). Dynasties such as the Shilahars and Kadambs from Maharastra and Karnataka respectively brought the ancestors under their control and the ancient boundaries became fluid. The mother tongue Konkani that kept the Goans culturally and geographically united. The Marathi influence on their culture came to be felt since the eighth century AD.

KUNBIS OF GOA: Different ethnic groups of a lower professional status represented the Kunbis in Goan society. They provided the bulk of agricultural labour. "The Portuguese designated these various ethnic groups as Curumbis, derived from the Konkani word Kunbi, a corruption of Kulambi and Kunngi (Kunnagi means the part of the agricultural land divided by bandi). Both these words are derived from the word kul, which is in Kannada signifies 'a definite caste and in Sanskrit 'an area which is under the plough with a pair of bullocks"(Sheik Ali B:1973:26). The Portuguese chroniclers recorded as Curumbins the following castes: Christian Gawdas, Christian Bharvancars in Salcete and Quepem, the Velip and Gaunkar of their kin in Sanguem and Canacona. Under the designation of Kunbis are the members of the Satarcar caste living mainly in Ponda and in Rivona village, Quepem, and so those of the lower Maratha caste in Sanguem, Sattari Bicholim and Pernem.

In south Goa there is a caste known as Konkni Kunbi. This caste formed the original class of cultivators in Goa, and many families migrated to Kannara, Karnataka. But these migrants despite centuries of separation still maintain close relations with the Goa Konkni Kunbis. They eat fish and meat (except beef and domesticated birds like chickens). Their settlements each have a budvont and are grouped into hamlets or Mahals with the headman called Mahal budvont or gauda, who owes allegiance to the chief gauda at Ponda. The Curumbi (Kunbi) and its famine form Curumbina (Kunbina) characterize castes of different origins and the nomenclature signifies that the Curumbis are from cultivating class. The Curumbis or Kunbis have two sub-castes: Velip and Gaunkar. In some villages Velip are devoted to temple services and sometimes act as priests in performing certain religious rituals. The Gaunkar were mainly engaged in cultivation and agricultural labour and also they settled the villages called GAW. Generally Kunbis were non-vegetarian. Their food consisted of nachini ambil (gruel), rice, fish, and meat (except beef and pork). Their clan names are derived from the names of their gods and goddesses, who were worshipped as their clan deities (Kuldevatas) such as Malikarjuna, Chandreshwar and Kameshwari, Vitol (Vetal), Tulsi, Naga, Shantadurga, Kalnath and Kelbai Satteri were village deities (Gramadevtas). The important function of the Kunbi clans was to regulate their matrimonial alliances. Marriage within the same clan was prohibited, but alliances could take place within the same community when the partners share the same surname, because their clans were not governed by surnames. Monogamy was the bedrock of their matrimonial system. Child marriage was no longer practiced. Being poor and backward, the Kunbis of Goa lived in small hut of mud walls

with roofs covered with coconut palm leaves or straw held by bamboo ribs. The huts were built close together into several hamlets and many families of the kutumb (clan) lived in the same hamlet under the leadership of an elder person regarded as the wisest person (budvont) whose duty was to protect their traditional customs. As the community leader, he generally settled social problems.

The Kunbis attached great importance to their culture and art and observed all Hindu festivals, and they treated Shigmo or Holi as their most important festival. They had a range of rich songs and colourful dance which groups of male dancers performed during the Shigmo. The women folk also had their own songs and the Dhallo dance.

With the arrival of the Portuguese, Kunbis in the Velhas conquests like all other communities faced the onslaught of the Christian missionary zeal and ruthless forced conversions. The missionaries prohibited the age –old Kunbi customs and folk culture through the edicts of a repressive regime and the Inquisitorial Church. Many Hindu families fled to alien territories to escape the proselytism, but the Christians remained rooted to their Church. They became members of the village and were accepted as secondary members of the Confraria (brotherhood). The Kunbis were denied of their rights in their own villages and strange foreign religious customs and observances, which they could not fully understand, were forced upon them. They are the living monuments of Christian tyranny to this day, deprived of all their rights and reduced to serfdom-mundcars (tenants) of the Brahman or Chaddo bhatcar (land owner), eking out a living as tenants of the bhatcar, but whose primary occupation is to work

as labourers on meager wages paid daily in cash and a mid-day meal and at the end of day's work, with one or two copacho (pegs) of feni. Though the community belonged to the village Church, their only contact was the village parish priest, who officiated at baptism, marriages and funerals. Unlike other Christian communities the Kunbis, due to various circumstances did not attend the Mass regularly except on festive occasions and at Christmas and at Easter. Despite centuries of Christianization, the Kunbis still hold on to their ancient beliefs and traditions of evil spirits and consult the Ghadi and visit Hindu temples for the deities' blessings.

The Christian Kunbis were generally looked down upon by the higher castes, who nevertheless maintained a cordial and harmonious employer-worker and bhatcar-mudcar relationship. The Kunbi women did the back breaking seasonal work in the paddy fields and also worked during the plucking of coconuts and other odd jobs. The younger women were employed as domestic servants by their bhatcars and the upper classes. These young women lived in their employer's household, often without payment for their services.

GAWDAS: The evolution of the word Gawda is shrouded in the realm of speculation, as scholars are divided in their opinion of the word Gawda. Some scholars have linked Gawda to the Gauda community of west Bengal. "The Gawda has its origin in the Kannada word 'gavunda' meaning original 'gaocar' (settler) of Goa. It is also postulated that in Tamil there are references to 'gamundas' as well as 'gamund-wanis' the word 'gamund' denoting gaocars. The Kannada word 'gavunda', some scholars believe, has changed to gamunda, a semi-Sanskrit form derived from the Sanskrit word grama meaning village. Whatever the arguments on the origin of

'Gawda' or the commonly used nomenclature of 'gaudo' and plural 'Gawde' in Goa, they are the earliest settler descendents of the pre-historic tribes, pre-dating the Kolarian tribes and the later arrivals, the Maratha tribe, commonly known as Maratha Gaunkar"(Singh, K.S:1993: 78).

In Goa there are Satarcar and Bharvancar Gawde, whose customs are different from those who are considered the descendents of a divine sub-race and are known as kelsi-kuthalcar Gawde, found in Ponda. Besides these three groups, there is also Maratha caste Gawde with the surname of Marathe. These are gaunkar of Poira, Surla and Zaire villages of Bicholim. In Quepem and Canacona, the Maratha Gaocars (Gaunkar) bear the surname Gawda and some temples house a stone idol known as Gadd-vouns. According to the Portuguese Government Portarias relating to the communidades (Agricultural and social welfare associations of gaocars-original settlers) and Mahazans (Religious associations of the founders of Hindu Temples). "There is a Gadd-vouns in the following temples: Amona, Corpal, Olaulim, Cansarpale, Mulgao, Naroa and Poira in Bicholim: Arambol, Torxem and Tuem in Pernem. Betki and Tiurem in Ponda taluka were as Atarbacem in Sangue, Pissurlem and Poriem in Sattari. In Poriem there is Shri Santerichi Bhumika temple founded by the Rane of Sattari, whose mahajans belong to the class of Ranes of Sanquelim and Gulelim"(Pereira Rui Gomes: 1978:49). The Portuguese chroniclers have listed this temple in the Portaria No. 1218 of December 20, 1930. Among the deities in the main temple is a Shardo deity (Chaddo-purush) to which the gaunkar of Pissurlem village offer their prayers. Belonging to the Chaddo-purush, the gaunkar do not intermarry with the Maratha gaunkar, as they are considered to be their inferiors. The kelsi-kuthalar gaude are alleged to have migrated to Ponda

from the Quelossim-Cortalim region of Salcete to escape from the persecution and drive of the Portuguese to Christianize their communities in the 16th and 17th centuries.

"The physical structure of the Gawda or the Kunbi is short to medium. The mean structure in cm. is about 162.63. The shape of the head is long and the mean cephalic index is 74.80 cm. General face description is long to medium type of face. The facial index is 85.31 cm. and means nasal index is 80.75 cm. whereas shape of Nose is medium type shape"(Satoskar,B.D:1979:312).

With the destruction of all Hindu temples in the Velhas Conquests and grouping of all classes of agricultural labourers as Curumbins (Kunbis), historians have very little data to identify and classify each gawde clan other than basing them on the prevalent social customs, religious practices, and worship of their deities transferred to the Novas Conquests. By 1620 the gawde communities in the velhas were largely converted to Christianity. Hence the gawde communities were split into endogamous groups they are Hindu and Christian Gawde.

A number of Hindu gawda families from Quelossim-Cortalim escaped with their deities from the fury and zeal of the Jesuit Missionaris and settled in Ponda, then an alien territory. These migrants came to be called Quelxi-Cortalimcar (Kelsi-Kuthalcar).

In 1928, large numbers of Christian gawda reverted to Hinduism guided by the Musurkar Maharaj whose ashram was in Bombay. These reconverted came to be known as Nav-Hindu-Gawda (or Gawdas). Hence in Goa there are now

Hindu Gawda, Christian Gawda and Nav-Hindu-Gawda. The Hindu Gawda does not have matrimonial reciprocity with the Nav-Hindu-Gawda, who is considered outcastes. The Nav-Hindu-Gawda is spread mainly in Ilhas, Ponda, Canacona, Bicholim and Quepem. They are non-vegetarian but do not eat beef and pork. Their staple diet consists of nachini ambil (Gruel), rice, fish, meat and vegetables.

The Hindu Gawda is non-vegetarian but do not eat beef and pork. Their diet is similar to the Nav-Hindu Gawda. Coconut is used in all food preparations and they drink tea and feni bought from the market, but their women-folk do not consume alcoholic drinks. Their surname is usually Gawda but they also use surnames after their villages like Mulgaocar, Uscaicar, Madaicar, etc. They practice Kul (clan) exogamy. The Kuls are Betal, Shri Naguesh, and Malikarjuna. Hierarchical order does not exist amongst the Kuls. Clan exogamy is the rule for marriages, though marriage is permitted between families of the same Kul provided they are separated by at least six generations. The Hindu Gawda community's major economic resource is its land. The land is owned by the Kul (clan) and not by any one individual. The Kul members share the produce of the land, but in areas where there is not enough land to meet the communities needs some members of the Kul are forced to work on lands belonging to other owners on a daily wage basis. The Gawda women work on the Kul land and also on other people's land on a daily wage basis. Women are not allowed to perform religious ceremonies in the temple and also those related to the Kul deity in the family home. These rituals are the prerogative of the men-folk. But women are permitted to light a lamp in front of the tulsi (basil) plant pedestal. The women have important role in participating in the festival of dhallo.

The Hindu Gawda buries their dead in the Kul burial ground. The eldest son performs the funeral rites and leads the procession, carrying an earthenware vessel containing the sacred fire to the burial ground. The earthenware vessel with the fire is broken at then ground. After the internment, the procession wends its way to the village without even casting a glance back towards the burial place. Custom demands that the heads of all sons of the deceased are shaved on the eleventh day. All the male members of the Kul also shave off their beards and moustache (Khar). A Bhatt performs the sacrificial offering of fire (Hom) also on the eleventh day. The purification ceremony is performed on the twelfth day followed by a vegetarian meal offered to all relations.

"For the worship in the temple the hereditary Jalmi offers pooja. He also performs the goat-sacrifice for any member of the Gawda community who desires to offer animal sacrifice and provides an animal for the ritual offering. They also worship the idol of Nava-Durga in the village temple, where a Bhatt (priest), a karade Brahman, performs the ceremonies at the ceremonies at the temple."(Singh, K.S:1993: 101-105).

VELIP: The Velip community lives mainly in Canacona, Quepem, Sanguem, and Ponda. They are the kith and kin of the Kuambi-Kunbi communities but separated from them several centuries ago. They are a strictly endogamous community and do not have a sub –group. Their staple diet is rice, wheat, and seasonal vegetables. They also consume pulses; use coconut and groundnut oil and rear cows. Consumption of milk and milk products is high. They do not drink feni or toddy. Their surnames are derived from their profession and the villages where their ancestors lived.

Malikarjuna, Shantadurga, Betal, Capileshwar, Mahadeva, Chandreshwar and Buthnat are some of the deities they worship. Marriage with the maternal uncle's daughter is permitted and so with the paternal aunt's daughter. Polygamy is allowed though rarely practiced. The mangalsutra and toe rings are the symbols of marriage and are worn by all married women. A widower is permitted to marry his wife's younger sister or an unmarried woman, but a widow is not allowed to marry, and if she does, she has to leave the village.

The Velip cremate their dead and have their own crematorium. When a child whose ears are not pierced dies, the corpse is buried. When the head of the family dies the eldest son, who lights the funeral pyre carries the fire. The ashes are collected and kept in a sealed earthenware pot and hung on a pole outside the house. On the third day the mundane ceremony is performed on the bank of a river after which a mhalo (barber) tonsures the eldest son and the younger siblings only trim their hair.

The Velip are a landowning community and employ labour from other communities on a daily wage basis. Besides priesthood in the Malikarjuna temple, their primary occupation is agriculture on their own land. They grow besides rice-paddy, coconut, cashew, mango, areca, jackfruit, and vegetables. Work on land belonging to others as share-croppers is a secondary occupation. The Velip do not have bonded labour or hereditary debt, even if there are certain members of the community who are landless and who are labourers and share-croppers.

"The Velip have the traditional councils in every village comprising twelve budvonts. The position of the budvont is

hereditary. Their major festivals are Holi, Diwali and Shigmo. Shigmo is the festival of dance and song. It starts on the night day of the full moon of Holi and ends on the final day of Holi when participants assemble at the Malikarjuna temple for their final dance and song to the accompaniment of drums, cymbals and flutes" (Singh,K.S:1993: 201-8).

CHRISTIAN GAWDAS: The Christian Gawda also known in Konkani as Gawda, Gawdis and Gawdos, live in Tiswadi, Bardez and Salcete. The Christian Gawda does not have sub-groups and they rightly claim that their ancestors have been in Goa for hundreds of years. They are non-vegetarian and rice is their staple food along with fish, meat, including beef and pork. They do not eat pulses regularly but coconut features in all their culinary preparations. They drink tea, but consumption of milk is low. They imbibe feni regularly. Their women also consume alcoholic drinks on festive occasions. There is little change in their eating habits, though cakes and biscuits are luxuries. They adopt their baptismal Christian names and the Portuguese surnames of their bhatcars. Until a few decades ago, child marriages prevailed among the Christian Gawda and the child bride lived with her parents till puberty, thereby conforming to their ancient Hindu tradition of marriage. However, the Catholic Church frowned upon their practices. Perhaps this was one of the reasons, why some of the Christian Gawda communities reconverted to Hinduism, as mentioned earlier with reference to Nav-Hindu-Gawda. Marriages are conducted according to the law of the land. Civil Marriages take place before the Registrar of marriages followed by the religious wedding in the village Church, officiated by the parish priest.

The Christian Gawda is mostly landless communities. They work on the land as mundcars on the land owned by the communidade or as sharecroppers on the property of the bhatcar. They also look after the owner's coconut, mango, and cashew plantations. Since land for share – cropping is limited their primary occupation is to work on a daily wage basis. The mundcars are neither bonded labourers nor hereditary debtors of the landlord. Tenancy of the landlord is in exchange for looking after the land and receiving a share of the crop, which is not bonded labour, though the mundcar has binding obligations. The Christian Gawda does not have surplus agricultural produce for sale and are totally dependent upon the goodwill of their bhatcar.

The Christian Gawda does not have sub-castes and the community belongs to the village Catholic Church. They celebrate Christmas, Easter, and the feast of St. Francis Xavier and that of their village Church, but unlike other Christians, they do not attend mass very regularly. Moreover, actually in rural areas they are virtually neglected by their parish priests with regards to their education and Christian doctrine. Despite of centuries of Christianity, the Catholic Gawda has been consigned to the depths of darkness and it is not at all surprising that they still cling to their age old beliefs. They regularly visit the Hindu temples in the Novas Conquests, where their ancient deities are installed, to seek their deities' blessings and also consult the Ghadi and offer the sacrifice of a black cockerel to the gods. The origin of the Communidade and Mahazans lies buried in the sands of time.

These two institutions were established by the settlers in times past by communities of simple folk with a remarkable common sense, but who were absolutely defenseless against

the powerful invaders, who dispossessed them of their lands, the lands they had ingenuously reclaimed from the sea-waters and turned into agricultural properties. The conquerors denied them their right in their own village Gaunkaras (associations) and deprived them of everything that they owned.

As living monuments of successive ancient tyrannies, the Kunbi and Gawda have survived, even though deprived of all rights except the usage of the surname Gaunkar. As ancient owners of the lands of their villages, the Gaunkar enjoy the privilege of initiating the rice-paddy planting ceremonies, which are performed with the immolation of a cockerel. The Gaunkars in turn are given a handful of paddy for each congi-part of the cultivated paddy field. They also enjoy the honour of being invited by the upper castes, the Brahman and Chaddi for a ceremonial lunch at certain temples. This is deemed as an easy way out and a comfortable practice to remedy the great deprivation inflicted upon the Curumbi and his kin. When Goa was invaded by the Muslims, the Brahmans and Chaddi were the communities who enjoyed administrative powers and who consolidated their possessions and positions by stealth. The Kunbi, Gawda or Zalmi and all other lower caste gaocars were terrorized into paying higher taxes by their Muslim conquerors and consequently were deprived of the fruits of their labour in the lands tilled and cultivated by them. This sad state of affairs led to their relinquishing a major part of their rights in their properties to the Brahmans and Chaddi, who bailed them out in time of their need and in lieu of repayment, possessed their lands. This explains how in all villages of the Communidade and Mazanias reduced the lower castes to mere kulvadis-servants. According to the report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Tribes, (1952) eight following features of tribes have been listed. They are:

1) They live away from the civilized world in the inaccessible part of the forests and hills.
2) They belong to one of the three racial stocks- Negroid, Austroloid, and Mongoloid.
3) They speak the same tribal dialect.
4) They profess primitive religion known as 'Animism' in which they worship ghosts and spirits as the most important element.
5) They follow primitive occupations such as Gleaning, gathering of forest product, and hunting.
6) They have nomadic habits and are fond of drinking and dancing.
7) They are either naked or semi-naked using tree barks or leaves for clothing.
8) They are largely carnivorous or flesh and meat eaters.

The exposure of the tribes to the non-tribal social institutions has generated among them new urges and aspirations. They now perceive new opportunities, which are available to them in the democracy.

Policy of India: The major problem lies in the inadequacy of the process of structural change in independent India as well as from the distortion inadvertently introduced in the socio-economic life within the tribal areas through some of the tribal welfare and regional development policies.

There is a need to understand the tribal urges and aspirations within the context of the regional milieus and as emanating from the overall framework of the intervention into the resource base of the tribal areas of Goa & Coastal Karnataka and its social, cultural, Political and economic consequences.

The Gawda, Kunbis, and Velip are the aboriginal tribe of Goa. These three tribes are in majority in Goa and other five are Dhodia, Naikada, Duba, siddi and warli whose population is very negligible and form Daman & Diu, which was separated from Goa when Goa became the state on 30 May 1987.

Goa is made up of 490 odd villages, which are spread over 11 talukas. If one carefully examines the origin of their name or can be traced back to mothertongue Konkani rooted in the Proto-Austroloid Mundari stock of the Kunbis and the kharwis. The Kunbis are the original people of Goa. They are agriculturists. The Gawdas and the Velip are the nomenclatures used to people of the same racial stock that is the Kunbis in some talukas of Goa. "The root of the original Konkani name of Goa as Goi has its roots in Konkani. The Kunbis of Goa gave this name Goi. It meant grains, crops falling and bending on one side. The Kunbis being the agriculturists who set up the original Gaunkari (village communities) in Goa addressed this land as Goi"(Satoskar,B.D:1979:105).

The Gaunkaris were agricultural communes and paddy was the main staple crop along with nachni. The foodgrain referred in the etymology of the word Goi is rice. The ancient names of the Goan variety ukdo or parboiled rice with a brownish – red tinge are azgo, corgut, etc. The fodder in the etymology of Goi is the food for the cattle. This being a reference to the cow which later features as Go in most of the sanskritised Marathi name of 'Go' such as Gomant, Gomanchal, Goparashtra, Gomantak, Gopakapur, etc.

Aryans changed the original Konkani names given by tribes to Sanskrit. Along with Sanskrit Marathi names such as 'Gove' also feature as one of the earliest names of Goa. During the reign of Kannada speaking dynasties like the Bhojas, Kadambas, Vijayanagara, the Goan village names were Kannadised meaning welfare state. They were further personalized under the Bahamanis and the Adilshahi rule followed by the luzitanisation of Goan village names under the Portuguese.

"Dakshina Kannada is situated on the western coast of India, about half way between Mumbai and Kanyakumari. It falls on the coastal belt of southern Karnataka. Many rivers and streams intersect the area. It has abundant vegetation, extensive forest, numerous coconut groves, and rice fields. The district is one of the two coastal districts of the Karnataka state, which are known as south Canara and North Canara. The name 'Canara' is derived from Kannada language, the regional language of the state. In Kannada, they are known as 'Dakshina Kannada' and 'Uttar Kannada' respectively and today these names are being used for both official and administrative purposes" (Manorama , year book1996:657). In this study, the above official term, 'Dakshina Kannada' is used to indicate the district under study.

The historical name of the area of the district is 'Tulunadu'. There are references to Tulunadu in inscriptions and other historical records. This name is derived from the Tulu language spoken in major part of the district. Though Kannada has been in general use in the area, both as the official language and popularly cultivated link language since time immemorial, the native language of a large number

people in a major portion of the district is Tulu, which belongs to the Dravidian family of languages.

Geographically, Dakshina Kannada region is separated from the rest of the south Indian peninsula by the towering heights of the Western Ghats. It spreads from the weastern Ghats towards the sea and the coastal line which is almost straight and is broken at numerous points by rivers, rivulets, creeks, and bay. It has also a very large stretch of forest area.

Kunbis belongs to one of the non – scheduled tribes of Karnataka. They are predominantly found in Kundapur and Mangalore Taluka and a few of them are found in Udupi, Karkala and Bantwal talukas in Dakshina Kannada District of Karnataka state. They are the migrants from Goa. According to 1981 socio-economic and educational survey of government of Karnataka, the population of Kunbis in Dakshina Kannada District was 23,847. There are more than 2,000 families of Kunbis scattered in the district.

In the literature and reports presented by Stephen Fuchs (1973), A Aiyappan (1948), Olivinho J F Gomes (1983), Ananthakrishna Iyer (1928), L G Havanur (1975), P.Gururaja Bhatta (1963), Thurston (1909), Sturrock (1895), Abhishankar (1973-Dist.Gazetter), Kunbis have been listed and described variously as 'food-gathering tribes', 'hunting-tribes', 'hill-tribes', aboriginal tribe', 'interesting-tribes', landless laborer of aboriginal stock'.

Majority of the Konkani speaking people from the Joida and Karwar talukas of modern Karnataka were geographically, culturally, social, historically and politically part of ancient Goa. It would be interesting to note here that in

Rev. H.O. Mascarenhas in his memorandum submitted to Hridaynath Kunjh, Chairman of Reorganization Commission, while staking the claim for Karwar, Supa (Joida) and Haliyal talukas as Goan territory, had clearly stated that these three talukas should not be merged into any state till the liberation of Goa as these people are historically of Goan origin.

A major portion of ancient south Goa which included Ashthagrahar, Hemadbarshem (now Sanguem taluka), Balli, Cacoda, Chandrawadi (now Quepem taluka), Advat (now Canacona taluka), Kali river in the Karwar taluka and beyond was part of the Soundekar king's territory and they had surrendered Sanguem, Quepem and Canacona including their Cabo de Rama fort to the Portuguese in 1763, when Hyder Ali, the king of Mysore attacked the territory of the Soundekar king. The British took the remaining Karwar, Joide and Haliyal talukas and hence later Karnataka usurped these ancient Goa into their territory.

The data pertaining to the Kunbis reveal that the Kunbis beyond the boundaries of ancient map of Goa migrated from Goa about 400 years ago (approximately dated 16th century A.D.). Like Kunbis, a few other communities also migrated from Goa and from the proximities to Dakshina Kannada between 15th and 16th centuries owing to various reasons. "The Brahmins and other Hindu communities deserted Goa in large numbers and settled in Kanara"(Saldhana Jerome A: 1938:34)."The Kunbis are belongs to the Munda Asteroid race. They are the aborigines of Goa as stated in Goa Gazetteers"(Mascarenhas Antonio: 1987:20-29). "The Kunbis are the food gathering and hunting tribes in south India"(Stephen Fuchs: 1973:246). Actually, it is difficult to trace the racial features of

Kunbis, as it is hard to find sufficient physical anthropological documents and evidences on Kunbis.

"One of the factors, which forced the Kunbis to move into Dakshina Kannada District during the 16th century, was the oppression and the proselytizing movement initiated by the Portuguese. When the Portuguese captured Goa, a significant majority of them left Goa permanently"(Thurston:1909:99).The Portuguese forcibly converted those who could not escape from the act of conversion. Consequently, there are a good number of Kunbis turned Christians today in Goa. "The aboriginal stock in Goa is known as the 'Gawda' or 'Kunbis'. The Christian converted in to 'Christian Gawda' aboriginal was termed Kunbis" (Gomes, Olivinho J F: 1987:79). It is said that the Kunbis fled to the coastal Karnataka and the Malabar regions when they would no longer yield to forcible conversion to Christianity. A good number of elderly Kunbis has confirmed this now. Contrary to this, some people hold that it was the dearth of food grain and such necessary articles that compelled them to leave Goa. However, it could very well be said that it was their miserable conditions that led them to flee Goa. Kunbis are called Kudumbis by non-Kunbis in Mangalore, Karkala and Bantwal regions. In these areas, the Tulu-speaking people address them as Kudumbilu, meaning Kunbis. In Kannada speaking Kundapura and Udupi regions they are called by the name Kudubiyaru or Kudubiyar, meaning Kunbis.

When two Kunbis converse with each other in their mother tongue, they refer to each other as Kunbi. Many Konkani-speaking writers, viz, Olivinho J F Gomes (1987), Jerome A Saldhana (1930), I Rebello, S S Prabhu, Lucio Rodrigues (1965), used the terms Kunbi, Cunbi (Konkani

Kunbis or Cunbis), and Kudumbi to refer to these people. Ghurye observes that (1979:31) 'Kunbi' perhaps signify the occupation of the group, viz, that of cultivation, though it is not improbable that the name may be of tribal origin'. J H Hutton (1980:286) also holds a similar view.

However, the western scholars viz, Sturrock (1984), Thurston (1909), Stephen Fuchs (1973) referred to them as 'Kunbis'. The term 'Kunbi' came to be later retained in various government reports, such as south Canara Gazetteer (1973), L G Havnoor's report (1975) and so on. For this reason, researcher has used the similar connotation of the word for the present study.

HOUSING AND VILLAGE SETTLEMENT

The Kunbis of Karnataka and the aboriginal tribes of Goa basically live in villages like many tribes in India. However, these villages cannot be called tribal villages, because almost all the settlements of Kunbis are mixed in character. In these villages, members of all castes, and occasionally other religious groups such as Muslims, Christians, and Jains also live with the Kunbis. However, they have formed their own compact settlement and hutments within the village, which resemble a small Kunbi village. Generally, each Kunbi hutment will be under the control of Gaunkar or tribal chieftain. Such Kunbi settlement are characterized by natural environment consisting of hill, low, forests, poor economy, settled agricultural operations and a set of religious practice and tradition. Settled agricultural practice, water resources, fertility of the soil etc. have favored the compact settlements among the Kunbis. Pamecha observed, "Tribal villages in India have their own characteristics, they differ from the common Indian villages in terms of character

and composition" (Thakkar, A.V:1941:45). 'Tribal villages differ from traditional Hindu villages. There are burial, sacred stone, dancing ground and community ground (Prabu, S.S:1982:7). The tribes maintain their culture and their settlement differ from other community.

The house of Kunbis and aboriginal tribes of Goa usually made of thatches, straw available in the hills and forests. They call their house Ghar. Wood and bamboo are also used to construct house, except, a very few ancestral house. The houses are generally small in size and rectangular in shape. The walls are made up of mud or bricks. They are either plastered with lime or just left bare. Most of such houses are very old. Today, a few tiled houses can also be seen. However, the roofs of majority of houses are very low with no proper ventilation. In general, almost all the houses are built in the same fashion. It is observed that majority of Gaunkar's houses are tiled and comparatively bigger in size. A Gaunkar's house also consists of a large courtyard, which is called Angan used for dance, marriage and other social functions. In the front yard of every Gaunkar's house there is a Tulsikatte / Tulshivrundavan (A square stone or mud structure in which Tulsi plant (sacred basil) is grown. Each house may have two to three rooms having their own specific uses. Much traditional type of houses has a varanda, which is known as Jagal or Padvi in Kunbi dialect. If the varanda is enclosed with wall and windows, then it is called Saki (or chavdi). A Jagal or Saki is the first room of the house.

The first room is meant for the use of male members of the house, guests and visitors. Female members may also use it while they are engaged in mat making or beedi rolling. The second room is called Bailgar (padsal). This room is used for

dinning, sleeping and storing. The kitchen is attached to Baligar. This room is used for dinning, sleeping and storing. The kitchen is attached to Baligar, which is also called Ollegar. It is also known as Ranpakud, Ranpathkoni and Havru. Among Kunbis the family deity is usually kept in the kitchen. The kitchen is considered very sacred for Kunbis.

Generally they build house without the passage behind the house. Storied house are also very rare among Kunbis. The entrance to the house is in the front. It has usually a sloping roof. In almost every Kunbi house, there is a separate room for animals. The cowshed is called hakki/Ati (also Goto). Hakki/Ati is attached to the house and in a few places; these are not attached to the houses. The houses are also usually surrounded by paddy fields and vegetable cultivation. In the courtyard of the house, one can also see a very big earthen pot used for heating water. This water is used for bath when it gets dark. Besides, a granary is also seen in the courtyard of every agricultural family immediately after the harvest season is over.

Nowadays, the traditional houses having greater generational depth are divided into several independent households under the same roof. The house of a group of persons are also not built in a cluster, rather the individual houses are separated from one another, New house built with cement wall, cemented floors, tiled roofs are also constructed. Such households resemble the houses of neighboring people. The area of the rooms has also increased and they are bigger in size. Few of them have also constructed houses on the roadside. The Tulsikatte is also installed in the courtyard of every house today under the influence of Hinduisation. Recently few Janata houses have also been developed for them

by the Government and also financial assistance made available under National Rural Employment Programme. These new housing patterns provided for better living conditions among Kunbis. In fact, the type of house is associated with the socio – economic status of an individual.

In the cases of Kunbis, though some middle or upper middle class Kunbis in the village have constructed somewhat better houses, but overall housing and living conditions of Kunbis at both the places is still substandard and miserable.

THE KUNBI DIALECT

"The aboriginal tribes of Goa and the Kunbi of Dakshina Kannada speak a dialect of Konkani. It belongs to the family of Indo-Aryan languages" (Stephen Fuchs: 1973:42). The people speaking other dialects of Konkani are easily able to communicate with Kunbis even though Kunbi dialect could be distinguished from other. The Konkani language spoken by Kunbis has become a distinct dialect owing to their isolation for centuries from other communities speaking Konkani. The Kunbi dialect has no script like other dialects of Konkani. A few of them are not even aware that their mother tongue is Konkani. When they are asked to say what language they speak, they just say that their language is Kunbi language. The Konkani dialect spoken by Kunbis is mostly in its pure form. It is slightly corrupted and accented. But in recent decades owing to the contact of neighboring people some change has taken place in their speech from. Many Kannada and Tulu words are used in their dialect due to the influence of regional language in Karnataka.

The Kunbis on the boarder of Goa did not know Kannada in the past due to illiteracy and lack of contact with

other people. However, today almost all men are able to speak in Kannada. The women of the tribal society are slowly acquiring some fluency in Kannada. They use Kannada and Tulu for communicating with non-tribal population in their villages. Letters are also written in Kannada. Illiterate members of Kunbi society make use of literates of their own community and other non-tribal sections for writing applications, letters etc. Kannanda and Tulu languages have so much influenced on Kunbi that today songs composed in Kannada and Tulu languages are sung by them on auspicious occasions like marriage, Holi festival etc. Though the use of folk songs in their own dialect is still prevalent, they are not able to understand most of their songs.

Kunbis have borrowed certain Kinship terminologies from Kannada and Tulu. For instance, Appayya (father) Amma (mother) Anna (brother) Akka (sister) Ajja (grand father) Ajji (grand mother) Mama (mother's brother, also father –in-law) Mayi (Mother-in-law) have been adopted from local languages. Similarly they use several other words such as Gurikara (Headman) Kudukattu valya (tribal council) Mela (dance troupe), Bali (clan) Nagole marusese (marriage rituals) Bete (hunting) etc. Tulu influence is also catching up in terms of words being adopted. The terms such as Javaner (youth) Bokkade (false) Koddel (curry) Jal (front yard of the house) Bari (clan) are the various Tulu words now used frequently in their talk. It is also noticed that they use names of certain plants and trees as their names.

Along with their local language, Tulu and Kannada are also slowly becoming the language of communication at home among the younger generation. Hence, they are slowly adopting the local language in order to abandon their tribal

identity. In some settlements, in Mangalore region a few Kunbi families have adopted Tulu as their mother tongue. Similar changes can also be noticed among the Marathi tribes of the district. Among them Marathi is spoken only in Udupi taluka and in other areas they have adopted Tulu as their mother tongue. "A large portion of the Indian tribal population, however, has given up the original language and today speaks the dialects of the neighboring peoples possessing superior culture and also a more developed speech form. But these tribes may have retained in their newly adopted language certain syntactic peculiarities of their old idioms, even a number of words" (Stephen Fuchs: 1973:37). The impact of the modernization and the Globalization can be seen on the tribal languages.

FOOD HABITS

This topic taken into consideration as it is important in order to determine the nutritional status of people. The dietary practice are influenced by multiple factors such as ecology, climatic conditions, cultivation and agricultural operations, availability of food stuffs, beliefs, customs, cultural practices and so on. The dietary practices also play an important role in determining health of an individual. Tribes everywhere have their own beliefs and food practices. But these food practices and beliefs among different tribes and even among the subdivisions or subsections within the tribal community may differ. "There is always a significant variation in the living and dietary habits of tribals and non-tribals population" (Rajyalakshmi: 1991:113). "Unawareness of proper health care practices such as sanitation, hygiene, food and nutrition is one of the main reasons of high morbidity rate in tribal areas" (Shashi Bharthi:1991:105). In this study an attempt has been made to

analyses the food and dietary habits of Kunbis and also the impact of modernization.

The boiled rice is the staple food of the Kunbis (1.A variety of rice prepared out of half-boiled paddy, the most common staple food used in Dakshina Kannada and Kerala State). It is eaten as 'ganji' or 'Pej' (gruel) or strained after boiling with curries and vegetables. Their usual food also comprises ragi (Eleusine Coracana) and fish. They use coconut and a variety of spices such as cumin seeds, garlic, onion, chili etc. for cooking. Spices, salt, and tamarind are added to vegetables or meat according to taste. Usually earthen pots and aluminum vessels are used for cooking purpose. Water is usually drawn from the well or nearby ponds or rivers. In the morning, they take rice gruel with chutney or pickles. The mid-day meal consists of rice and vegetables curry. In the evening meals are taken with leftover curry or occasionally, fish curry. The leftover food articles are eaten the next morning. These food items fulfill their dietary requirements to some extent but they are not prepared hygienically. They grow and eat different types of vegetables such as cow pea (vigna unguiculate), ladies finger (Abelmoschus esculentus), cluster bean (Cyamopsis tetragonolba), sweet melon(Cucumis melo), bitter gourd (momordica charantia) cucumber (cucumis mela), brinjal(Solonum Melongena) ash gourd (Benincasa Hispida) and certain leafy vegetables such as tero (Colocasia esculenta), Indian spinach (Basella rubra) and certain root vegetables such as sweet potato (Impeemoea batatas), Tapioca (Manihot esculenta) and so on.

It is very interesting to note that the Kunbis are very fond of the curry made out of tero. Other than leaves, its tuber is widely used as an important vegetable. Curries made out of

cowpea, Indian Spinach are also quite common. "The Kunbis brought Sweet Potatoes, Cashew nut, Indians Spinach and Chrysanthemum indicum from Goa to South Canara" (Thurston:1909:100). They also use variety of wild plants and tubers as their food. For instance, wild Elephant yam, Carpentaritar-marind, Indian Gamboges, Mysore Gamboges, bitter luffa, Goyinta are some of there prominent wild plants, fruits and tubers. In Kolluru (Kundapur Taluka) and nearby forest region, even today Kunbis live on seasonal wild fruits, raw tubers, raw Jackfruits, and honey. During this period, rice is not used.

They prepared different types of Native dishes on joyful event such as Holi, Deepawali, Nag Panchami, Navarathri, Krishna Jalmastami, and Atiamavasya. Usually the dishes on this occasion are prepared in local Hindus style. They prepared certain native dishes such as Gunda (made of rice and blackgram), pathroda / patolyo (made of rice and coconut prepared on turmeric leaf). For Atiamavasya (Ashada festival) the curry of tero is a must. On this day food is eaten only for wild tree viz, dog teak (Dillenia Pentagyna). On the occasion of holy festival Idli (a Dish made of rice and blackgram), Payas (milk pudding), and certain side dishes are prepared. It is observed that the type of dishes and eatables prepared on such occasion are adopted from local Hindus. During festival preparation of non-vegetarian food is a taboo. However, non-vegetarian food is taken after the festival. There are certain restriction regarding food habits owing to different beliefs, Superstitions, and food taboos. Certain food among Kunbis is prohibited from consumption. The use of milk and milk products such as ghee, butter, buttermilk etc. is found to be very negligible. Milk is used only for tea.

Even though the Kunbis are non–vegetarians, it is surprising to note that they do not eat the flesh of reared animals such as fowl, sheep, goat, pig etc. In this sense; they claim to be superior to other tribes and scheduled castes of the district. Rearing of fowl is strictly prohibited. The contact with fowl or its droppings results in pollution. In olden days if any one touched it, he had to drink the solution of cow dung in order to purify oneself. The use of the solution of cow dung as a purifactory method indicates the impact of Hinduisation.

The fish sold in the market is seldom used. But fish caught by them is widely used. The Kunbis are of the opinion that it is not proper to kill domesticated animals for food. But, wild animals could be killed by hunting since it involves struggle and exertion. Certain wild animals used as food become sacred for Kunbis. Their names are also used as clan totem. Even today fish purchased from the market is cooked on an oven in the outhouse, whereas the flesh of wild animals is cooked inside. Similarly, eating of certain animals used as totem is a taboo among Kunbis, for instance, the Indian Paradise Flycatcher. The large racket tailed dragon, Peacock, Parrot, Cow (Boss) etc. are never killed for food. Beef eating is strictly prohibited indicating their inclination towards Hinduism.

"The food and clothing are the primary consumption goods. In most non-literate societies the economic processes by which they are distributed are relatively simple. Here the real problem largely lies outside the economic sphere. We have seen how even people living on the subsistence level do not utilize all available foodstuffs; either because of special taboos of a religious or human consumption, or because of special taboos of a religious or sociological character. The

same kind of selectivity is found in clothing, as among groups where the productive capacity permits class differentiation and clothing becomes a mark of rank" (Herskovits Melville J: 1974:156). The Kunbis usually lived on gruel, ragi, shyamy (Panicum Miliaceum), wild fruits, wild tuber, roots, honey and forest birds and animals. Ragi served as an energy food as majority of them were engaged in strenuous work such as shifting cultivation, coolie, digging well and other unskilled labour. This shows that there is some relationship between the type of food consumed and the nature of their occupation.

049214

Tea is the main beverage now popular among Kunbis. Use of liquor was prohibited among them in olden days. They neither make alcoholic drinks nor offer it to deities like many other tribes of India. But some of them now drink liquors freely. They use both country made liquor and that is sold in the wine shop. Some Kunbis have admitted that alcoholic drinks are now prepared by themselves at home especially in kodiyala subdivision. It is observed that among our respondents 160 men (80%) respondents reportedly consume alcohol and 30(15%) do not. Among those who consume alcohol, 5% consume only in special occasions like fairs and festivals. Thus, it is clear that majority of the men among Kunbis consume liquor today. The betel leaves and nuts are also popular among them. Both men and womenfolk chew it with tobacco and lime. Some even use catechu along with betel nut as a scented ingredient. Beedi is also popular (Handmade cigarettes) among men folk. It is observed that many young men start smoking beedi at a very early age. It is clear from the foregoing description that we come across several changes in the types of food consumed by the Kunbis on account of settled agriculture, deforestation, reservation of forest, and migration to towns, Hinduisation etc. Today rice

has become the staple food among Kunbis. Owing to deforestation and weakening of hunting operation, they are forced to violate traditional norms of dietary system. Domesticated animals are used for food as a substitute due to non-availability of wild animals. Rearing of fowl is also found in some families. The Gaunkar, Raibari and Gadya also take non-vegetarian food at present, though; it was prohibited in the past.

Because of settled agriculture and influence of neighboring communities they have also started preparing certain preservable food such as papad (made of Jackfruit), pickles, fruit jam etc. They are preserved in containers and used during rainy season. During this period, many people who depend upon manual work are under-employed and staple food items are not sufficiently available.

In olden days as they depend on forests for their food, their dietary habits did not include grains and vegetables. Nevertheless, today they eat grains and cultivated vegetables. However, their eating practices are not hygienic. Majority of them are not aware of balanced food habits and nutrition. Due to lack knowledge of balance diet, the use of nutritious forest foodstuffs is declining among Kunbis. Drinking of liquor has also made many Kunbis to suffer from infectious diseases.

HEALTH

Because of several reasons of unhygienic conditions in which they live they are facing major health problems. Even due to lack of cleanliness, potable water, poverty, mal-nutrition; lack of medical knowledge and information they are facing health problems (main reason being their belief in rigid beliefs superstitions). In most cases, their reluctance to avail of

medical treatment is mainly due to their superstitious beliefs. Out of the total 200 respondents (100 from Goa and 100 from Dakshina Kannada District) interviewed, 90 respondents admitted that there was incidence of one or the other disease in their families, asthma, or tuberculosis being predominant. A few cases of leprosy, malaria, jaundice, and cancer were identified. Having this in view a few health camps were conducted recently by Rotary club (2007), Dakshina Kannada District Health Officers, and Directorate of Health of Goa, in association with different NGO'S. It was found that the incidence of tuberculosis are much more frequent amongst the Kunbis than other.

The housing pattern of Kunbis, it may be Goa, or Dakshina Kannada are either insufficiently ventilated or overcrowded without having any facilities of sanitation or hygiene. It is these conditions that have led to various diseases among them. Moreover, Kunbis are more dependent on the magic performed by Vaidya. Some of the Kunbis themselves use local herbal medicines or seek the expertise of Kunbi medicine man or Vaiday. Majority of them do not admit their pregnant women to hospitals for delivery. A woman during her confinement is kept for 11 days in an outhouse, usually in a shed intended for cattle or sometimes, in a separate shed attached to the cattle shed. Such habitation tends to result in serious illness or sometimes-even death. Kunbis believe that the house and their deity will be polluted if any woman during her maternity is kept in the house. Another unhygienic practice is that the umbilical cord of a newly born baby is cut with an unsterilised sickle or knife.

The unhygienic practices amongst the Kunbis often lead to various infectious diseases. For instance, the men wear the

dress and costumes for days without wash especially during their Holi celebrations and such touring stints. The once washed dresses and costumes of Holi dance are worn for the next year again unwashed. In this connection, whether the respondents consult the doctors for the treatment of diseases was examined. The data shows that out of the total sample 85(85%) respondents consult doctors for the treatment of diseases and only 15 (15%) do not consult the doctors from Dakshina Kannada District and from Goa 90 (90%) respondents consult the doctors where as 10(10%) do not. So overall 87.5% consult the doctors and remaining does not. It is also interesting to note that the majority, 156(78%) out of 200 from both the places the respondents also consult the religious specialists for the treatment of diseases while 44(22%) respondents do not.

There are different reasons for consulting and not consulting religious specialists were ascertained. Out of 200 respondents, those who consulted religious specialists 60(30%) do so in order to ascertain the cause of the disease. 24 (12%) said that it is the part of the tribal custom and 20(10%) depend on religious specialists for fear of trouble caused by the spirits while 26 (13%) respondents could not specify any reason. On the other hand, those who answered in negative 30(15%) respondents said that they have no faith in it and 10 (5%) opined that consulting their specialist is of no use. It is seen from the diseases are due to the influence of supernatural and evil spirits, while 30(15%) respondents do not believe so.

Table: 2.1 Consumption of Alcohol by the Kunbis, Gawda, and Velip.

Name of the tribe	Consumes Every day	Consumes frequently	Consumes occasionally	Not consume at all
Kunbis of Karnataka (300)	111 (37)	120 (40)	30 (10)	39 (13)
Gawdas of Goa (100)	31 (31)	35 (35)	24 (24)	10 (10)
Velip of Goa (100)	27 (27)	30 (30)	30 (30)	13 (13)
Kunbis of Goa (100)	47 (47)	39 (39)	11 (11)	03 (3)

Next, the habit of consumption of alcohol was Evaluated. It became apparent that a majority i.e., 261(87%) of the respondents consumes alcohol from Dakshina Kannada District. Among the drinkers 37% respondents admitted that they consume alcohol everyday, 40% of them take frequently, while 10% of them consume liquor occasionally during festival, buffalo race, Yakshagana etc. However, 39(13%) respondents said that do not take alcohol at all. This number includes 25 female respondents.

The sample survey of 300 respondents of in Goa shows that 105 respondents consume alcohol every day. 104 respondents consume the alcohol frequently, 65 of them take occasionally and 26 respondents said that do not take alcohol at all.

When asked about maternity deaths in the families of 200 respondents, 13 respondents reported that there was maternity related death in their families.

The data collected about the immunizing their children from 200 respondents. As per the data collected it was noticed that 155(77.50%) of the respondents take children to hospitals for immunization and remaining 45(22.5%) do not. Some of them answered negative, gave the different reasons. Twenty-five were unaware of the fact that the children have to be immunized against diseases. Eighteen respondents though were aware of it believed that there was no need for immunization in the case of healthy children. Ten respondents felt that adequate facilities for immunization were not available in their villages and two respondents expressed their fear against immunization.

As per the information from the respondents the source of information about the immunization for them was through the health visitors. 100 (50%) said that health visitors is only source for them. 50 (25%) respondents came to know through health camps conducted at their settlements. 40 (20%) of them became aware through their relatives and friends and for 10 respondents the school going children were their main source of awareness. The study reveals that though majority of our respondents make use of immunization facilities, about one fourth of them are almost ignorant that their children are to be immunized in within a stipulated time. The study also shows that the visits of the health visitors during health camps at tribal settlements have an impact on the health status of Kunbis.

EDUCATION

The Educational condition of aborigine tribes of Goa and the Kunbis of Dakshina Kannada is more or less the same. The Kunbis are the most backward ones, the prime causes being – poverty, lack of motivation and encouragement,

depressing home-environmental conditions, non-availability of benefits extended to the tribes etc. Because of Industrial estates majority of the Kunbi children drop out from the school at so early stage that they almost revert to illiteracy. However, there have been Considerable changes in the parent's aspirations and attitudes regarding providing education to their children for improving their future.

Table : 2.2 Level of education of respondents and their fathers

Levels of education	Fathers		Respondents	
	D. K.	Goa	D. K.	Goa
Illiterate	74 (37)	50(25)	57 (28.5)	12 (6)
Primary	52 (26)	60(30)	58 (29)	21(10.5)
Middle	37(18.5)	32(16)	40 (20)	45(22.5)
High School	30 (15)	32(16)	34 (17)	56(28)
Pre-University	05 (2.5)	12 (6)	07 (3.5)	56(28)
Degree	02 (1)	14(7)	04 (02)	10(5)
Total	**200(100)**	**200 (100)**	**200(100)**	**200 (100)**

In above given table, respondents are from Goa as well as from Dakshina Kannada district. It is important to note that about 74 (37%) and 57 (28.5%) respectively Dakshina Kannada District and that of Goa, the respondents were illiterate. An inter-generational educational mobility is perceived among the Kunbis. For this purpose the education of the respondents was compared with their father. Table 2.2 shows that rise in literacy rate from father's generation to respondents' generation has been only 17% and 38% of Dakshina Kannada and Goa respectively. Similarly, there is a rise in the literacy levels at the stage of middle, and high School in Dakshina Kannada and also in Goa. The education levels of respondents at primary stage in Goa considerably come down as most of them preferred to go for higher

education. The above table shows that the percentage of education among the Kunbis is gradually on the rise.

At the time of comparison of the educational levels of the parents (see table 2.2) there is slight improvement in the educational levels of fathers compared to the mother.

The Pie Chart shows the level of Education of 200 respondents from Goa.

Levels of education	Respondents (%)
Illiterate	31. 9
Primary	20.09
Middle	17.14
High School	18.09
Pre-University	2.85
Degree	1. 9
Total	100

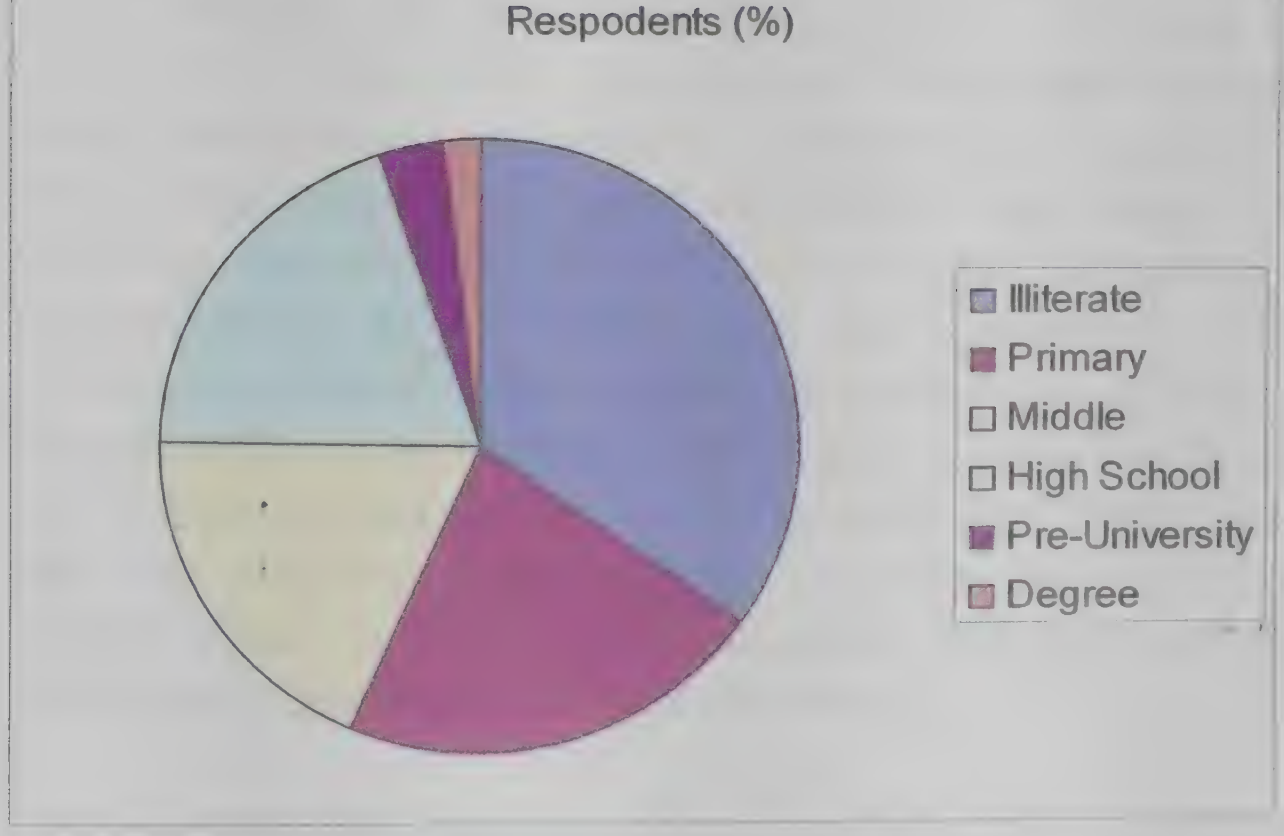


Table No. 2.3 Education of the Parents of the respondents

Levels of education	Father		Mother	
	D.K.	Goa	D.K.	Goa
Illiterate	45 (45)	38 (38)	52 (52)	42 (42)
Primary	25 (25)	21 (21)	23 (23)	28 (28)
Middle	21 (21)	20 (20)	18 (18)	15 (15)
High School	8 (8)	14 (14)	7 (7)	10 (10)
Pre-University	01 (1)	04 (4)	Nil	3 (3)
Degree	Nil	03 (3)	Nil	2 (2)
Total	100(100)	100(100)	100(100)	100(100)

The facilities available for this people were also evaluated. The majority of the respondents 164 (82%) opined that the facilities are adequate and only 36 (18%) of them thought them inadequate. The reasons they put before were long distance, inconvenience caused during the rainy season and lack of facility for Primary and Pre-Primary education in their settlements especially in Dakshina Kannada District. Regarding respondents attitude towards education of their children, the majority 187 (93.5%) of respondents is in favour of educating their children and the remaining 13 (6.5%) showed no interest. In order to educate their children better opportunities, employment, status, and security for themselves are the motivating factors for the parents. Those who answered in the negative attributed the reasons like lack of job opportunities and financial constraints and the total lack of motivation on the part of their children.

It may be observed from the table no. 2.3 relating to parents aspiration, from the total respondent, 11% and 9%

It may be observed from the table no. 2.4 relating to parents aspiration, from the total 200 respondent D.K and Goa, 11% and 9% respectively willing to educate their children up to the High school level. (2% and 1%) of the respondents said that they would like to educate their children up to Primary level. It is heartening to note that 36% and 47% of the respondents intend to educate their children up to degree level. Moreover, 39% and 41% respondents said that they are interested in admitting their children for Job-oriented Diploma or Certificate Technical Courses.

Table No.2.4 Aspiration of the parents for their children's education

Answer	Dakshina Kannada	Goa	Percentage	
Primary	02	01	2	1
High School	11	09	11	9
College	36	47	36	47
Certificate/ Diploma	39	41	39	41
Can't answer	12	02	12	2
Total	100	100	100	100

The adult education was another important programme undertaken at this centre as well as by the state Govt. to educate the illiterates in the age group of 15 to 45. In addition to the above programmes, other voluntary organizations also conduct useful programmes like Medical Camps frequently at this centre. One thing to be noted here is that though there is a need for holding similar programmes in all other Kunbi settlements elsewhere, it has not been done. However, it is observed during the interview that the above respondents are not habituated to reading newspapers but they read them sometime casually upon availability.

Source:- Directorate of Education: Govt. of Goa:2007-08

Table Talukawise and Classwise Enrolment of Schedule Tribes [illegible] 06 - 2007

Sr. No.	Taluka	Management	I		II		III		IV		TOTAL (I-IV)	
			BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1	PERNEM	GOVT	2	2	2	7	2	-	3	-	9	9
		NON GOVT	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-
2	BARDEZ	GOVT	5	6	1	-	2	-	-	2	8	8
		NON GOVT	10	2	4	1	9	4	5	2	28	9
3	BICHOLIM	GOVT	33	32	19	17	24	30	19	31	105	110
		NON GOVT	-	-	-	3	-	5	-	-	-	8
4	SATTARI	GOVT	5	7	6	6	6	7	9	9	26	29
		NON GOVT	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
5	TISWADI	GOVT	6	9	12	13	11	19	10	9	39	50
		NON GOVT	1	1	1	2	3	1	2	3	7	7
6	PONDA	GOVT	129	147	120	128	141	109	114	121	504	505
		NON GOVT	11	11	10	9	11	9	10	8	42	37
7	SANGUEM	GOVT	75	77	78	69	60	57	58	62	271	265
		NON GOVT	5	5	1	5	2	3	1	5	9	18
8	QUEPEM	GOVT	208	193	178	175	171	159	174	147	731	674
		NON GOVT	107	71	38	61	80	48	45	34	300	214
9	CANACONA	GOVT	110	117	109	83	116	98	129	105	494	403
		NON GOVT	1	-	1	2	-	-	1	1	3	3
10	SALCETE	GOVT	6	7	11	5	9	6	16	10	44	28
		NON GOVT	101	80	101	82	106	75	111	101	419	338
11	MORMUGAO	GOVT	7	1	3	4	1	3	1	1	12	9
		NON GOVT	7	9	20	11	21	19	17	20	65	62
	TOTAL	GOVT	618	598	539	507	563	488	[illegible]	497	2243	2090
		NON GOVT	243	179	206	179	232	164	[illegible]	174	874	696
	GRAND TOTAL		861	777	745	[illegible]	[illegible]	652	[illegible]	671	3117	2786

Source:- Directorate of Education: Govt. of Goa:2007-08

Table Talukawise and Classwise Enrolment of Schedule Tribes Students, 2006 - 2007

Sr. No.	Taluka	Management	V		VI		VII		TOTAL (V - VII)	
			BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS
1	2	3	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21
1	PERNEM	GOVT	-	1	2	-	-	1	2	2
		NON GOVT	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
2	BARDEZ	GOVT	1	1	3	-	-	-	4	1
		NON GOVT	2	6	5	6	5	7	12	19
3	BICHOLIM	GOVT	3	2	4	8	6	3	13	13
		NON GOVT	10	4	11	12	13	12	34	28
4	SATTARI	GOVT	16	17	27	18	24	22	67	57
		NON GOVT	-	-	-	1	1	-	1	1
5	TISWADI	GOVT	6	5	4	3	6	4	16	12
		NON GOVT	41	40	38	40	42	44	121	124
6	PONDA	GOVT	10	9	14	14	7	10	31	33
		NON GOVT	127	120	150	149	149	147	426	416
7	SANGUEM	GOVT	58	45	52	59	64	61	174	165
		NON GOVT	41	27	47	35	51	44	139	106
8	QUEPEM	GOVT	109	121	132	128	138	109	379	358
		NON GOVT	60	58	111	79	77	69	248	206
9	CANACONA	GOVT	49	40	68	101	92	77	229	218
		NON GOVT	22	24	41	32	40	24	103	80
10	[illegible]TE	GOVT	4	3	1	5	11	6	19	14
		NON GOVT	95	62	75	97	137	101	307	260
11	MORMUGAO	GOVT	2	2	3	2	4	1	9	8
		NON GOVT	1	1	3	4	7	6	17	11
	TOTAL	GOVT	258	246	333	338	352	297	943	881
		NON GOVT	400	342	487	455	522	464	1409	1251
	GRAND TOTAL		658	588	820	793	874	761	2352	2132

Source:- Directorate of Education: Govt. of Goa:2007-08

Table Talukawise and Classwise Enrolment of Schedule [illegible] 2007

Sr. No.	Taluka	Management	VIII		IX		X		TOTAL (VIII-X)		GRAND TOTAL (I-X)	
			BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS
1	2	3	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31
1	PERNEM	GOVT	1	2	-	-	-	-	1	2	12	13
		NON GOVT	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-
2	BARDEZ	GOVT	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	12	10
		NON GOVT	2	14	6	10	5	2	13	26	53	34
3	BICHOLIM	GOVT	5	14	6	2	1	3	12	19	130	142
		NON GOVT	13	17	12	18	16	9	41	44	75	80
4	SATTARI	GOVT	35	25	29	22	9	15	73	62	166	148
		NON GOVT	1	-	-	-	1	-	2	-	3	1
5	TISWADI	GOVT	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	55	63
		NON GOVT	53	52	29	30	29	46	111	137	239	268
6	PONDA	GOVT	9	12	8	12	7	8	24	33	559	571
		NON GOVT	229	218	166	158	136	136	531	512	999	965
7	SANGUEM	GOVT	50	59	50	46	23	41	123	146	568	576
		NON GOVT	64	47	47	39	23	21	134	107	282	281
8	QUEPEM	GOVT	160	149	107	95	78	46	345	290	1455	1322
		NON GOVT	98	92	80	54	44	47	222	193	770	613
9	CANACONA	GOVT	122	102	116	98	67	48	305	248	1028	869
		NON GOVT	42	43	57	36	28	15	127	94	233	177
10	SALCETE	GOVT	1	-	-	1	1	1	2	2	65	44
		NON GOVT	151	141	122	141	79	99	352	381	1078	979
11	MORMUGAO	GOVT	2	-	1	3	6	1	9	4	30	21
		NON GOVT	11	12	6	5	2	5	19	22	101	95
	TOTAL	GOVT	385	364	317	281	192	163	894	808	4080	3779
		NON GOVT	664	636	525	500	363	380	1552	1516	3835	3463
	GRAND TOTAL		[illegible]	1000	842	781	555	543	[illegible]	[illegible]	7915	7242

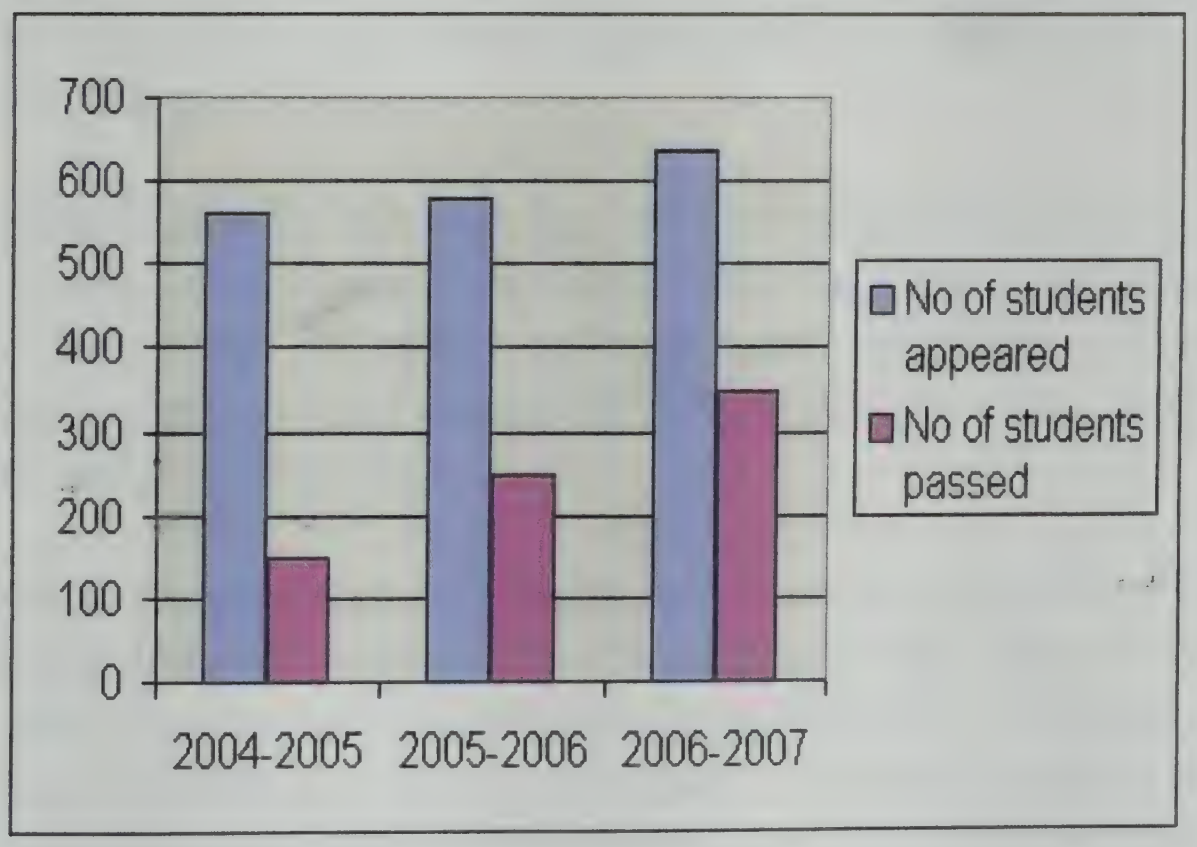
63

The enrollment in the educational institution of aboriginal tribes in Goa for the academic year 2007-08 is as under.

Standard	Boys	Girls	Total
I to IV	3117	2786	5903
V to VII	2352	2132	4484
VIII to X	2446	2324	4770
XI to XII	357	292	649
Total	8272	7534	15806

The graph represents the students of ST community appeared for SSC exam and their passing percentage, through Goa Board of secondary and higher Secondary Education for three years.

Year	No of students appeared	No of students passed
2004-2005	562	149
2005-2006	580	250
2006-2007	637	347



Culture and the Folk

Dance, Folk Music and Tiatr: Goa is a land of highly talented and artistic people with a rich cultural synthesis blending East and West most creatively. In addition to the classical music, different forms of music and dance have evolved. Music and dance form the very fiber of rural Goa. Each occasion and region has its distinctive forms. The urban areas have adapted to modern and popular music styles.

Women perform a number of the traditional dance like Dekni – a rare blend of traditional and modern music. Fugdi and Dhalo are the most common folk dances of Goa. The Kunbi is a tribal folk dance. Women holding lamps on their heads perform the lamp dance during shigmo festival. Morule is another traditional folk play presented by the tribal community during shigmo. The Zagor is a folk play presented in different villages of Goa by the Gawda community. The Dhangar, performed during Navratri, is a vigorous session of worship and dance. Mando is a love song which represents the mingling of Indian and western tradition.

DANCE: The Tribal folk dances bear a tradition of thousands of years, characterized by innumerable forms performed by and reflecting lifestyles, cultures and aspirations of various strata, religions and castes of Goan society. The prominent ones are described here.

Dekhni Dance: Dekhni in Konkani language means bewitching beauty. This solo song-cum-dance performed only by woman to the accompaniment of folk drum "Ghumat", displays a rare blend of Indian and Western cultures. The dance enacts the life of Devdasi (literally meaning servant of God) girl whose job is

to perform dance in temples and social ceremonies like weddings. The theme is of a Devdasi girl who comes to river bank to take a ferry to reach the other side where she has an appointment to dance in a wedding. She requests then adamant boatman for a favour and is even ready to offer him her golden earring for taking her across urgently. The dance set to western rhythms and Indian melody, is livened up by the conversation between the girl and the boatman in the form of a lilting song, which lingers in the mind for a long time.

Dhalo Dance: One of the most popular Goan dances; Dhalo is performed by women folk on the moonlit night of Pausha month. Compared to Fugdi, it is slow. The songs are in Konkani and Marathi. Normally 12-24 women assemble after the dinner at a pre-selected specific spot (Mand) in the courtyard of a house in the village. They arrange themselves in 2 parallel rows of 12, facing each other, and in a tribal fashion form a close knit by linking them arm-around, the back arrangement, singing in unison. The songs cover religious and social themes. The dance goes on every night for a week. On the concluding day, women sport all sorts of fancy dresses.

Fugdi Dance: Fugdi or Foogdi is the most popular folk dance form of Goa, performed only by women. Though basically a non-religious, all –weather dance, it is dance on all important social and religious occasions, and even at the end of other dances like Dhalo. The dance starts with invocation to Hindu Gods at a slow pace of footwork in a circular formation, and suddenly it attains a fast pace reaching climax. The theme of the song becomes social aspects and matching action forms are enacted. At the maximum speed, the dancer matches the rhythm by blowing air through the mouth that sounds like 'Foo'. Hence, this dance named as Foogadi or Fugadi.The two

sub-forms are Katti Fugdi and Kalshi Fugdi. The former is a performance with coconut shells in hands whereas; the latter form is performed in sattari taluka with water pitchers (Kalshi) after the Shravan religious ritual of newly wedded woman.

Goff Dance: It is a folk dance with cords, manifesting joy and happiness of Goan peasants after the harvest. It is performed during the Shigmo Festival in Phalgun month. Each dancer holds a colorful cord hanging at the centre point of the 'mand'- the place of performance- and starts dancing intricately with the others, forming a beautiful, colorful, intricate braid at the end of the first movement. The music starts again and the dancers reverse the pattern of dancing so skillfully that the braid gets unraveled and at the end of the second movement, all the cords are loose and single once again. There are 4 different braids of Goff. The songs sung are devoted to Lord Krishna. Ghumat, Shamael and surta shanai or melodic instruments accompany the dance. Goff has an affinity with tribal dance forms of Gujarat.

Mando: Mando is a group song –cum-dance of basically Goan catholic Kunbis. A group of boys and girls, some 20 in number, form a semi- circular pattern in two lines with the girls in the front line and the boys in the back line. The songs cover the entire gamut of emotions in love, accompanied by the beats of Ghumat and romantic strains of violin. Set to the Latin American tune, the song with a local theme starts with a sad and slow note and ends on a faster beat called Dulpods or Durpodha, the rhythmic pattern being akin to khaiyal songs. In fact Mando represents the mingling of Indian and western traditions. The girls and the boys sing a line of the song one after the other or sometimes in chorus. The girls wear a peculiar dress called Tollopo resembling Burmese saronge.

Suvari – Folk Music: It is a traditional folk music, a tone setter to all Hindu religious and festival performances. The music is orchestral in nature and relies heavily on laya and tal, as spoken words are few. The orchestra consists of ghumat, Shamel, cymbals and sometimes sehnai and surt. The popularity of suvari can be gauged from the fact that a good suvari band is regarded as a matter of pride and honor of a village.

Jagar: This earliest form of drama in Goa is supposed to be the prẹcursor of modern Marathi theatre. There are two forms performed exclusively by the Hindu perani community. The theme tackles philosophical questions like the origin of the universe in the background of mythology. The other form known as Gawda Jagar is enacted by the Christian Gawda community in different villages in Goa in contemporary village life.

Kunbi Dance: Kunbis, the earliest setters of Goa, are a sturdy tribal community mostly settled in Salcete taluka, who though converted to Christianity, retains the most ancient folk tradition of the land. Their song and dance belonging to the pre-Portuguese era is uniquely social and not religious. The fast and elegant dance by a group of Kunbi women dancers, wearing traditional yet very simple dresses, lends a colorful touch to this ethic art form.

Lamp Dance: This dance derives its name from brass lamps used in the dance during the shigmo festival. The accompanying instruments include Ghumat, Kasale, Cymbal, and Harmonium. The performers indulge in a slow dancing movement, balancing brass lamps with burning wicks on the head and the hand. The balancing act controlled by

tremendous self-discipline and exquisite footwork matching with the rhythms of the traditional folk songs are eye-catching. This group dance is popular in the southern and central Goa.

Romat Dance (Romata Mell): This thanks-giving ceremonial dance-cum-procession performed during the Shigmo festival is known as Romat in the northern Goa and Mell in the central Goa. It is an extremely crowded, noisy, and colorful affair. The teams of dancers drawn from different sections of the village dance and March martially with huge banners, ceremonial umbrellas, festooned sticks, and batons towards the temple of the presiding deity or to the house of the landlord. The cacophony emanating from deafening beats of huge Dhols and Tasho and a prolonged, vigorous dancing procession displaying colorful dresses leave the spectators spell bound.

DRESS: Today in the process of westernization and sanskritisation there is a shift with regard to the dresses worn by tribes. The imitation of the western dress and mode of wearing dresses in modern styles have led to the transformation of tribal culture, art music, dance, craft etc. In the past, Kunbi men wore loincloth (chowka or cowpina/kassti). In course of time, they began to use a short towel like cloth, which covered their waist and thigh, leaving the rest of the body naked. Later they started wearing hand-stitched vests. Today, the normal dress of a Kunbi male is a dhoti draped around the waist. It is also the common dress of men of the district. Kunbi men sometimes wear half dhoti or even full dhoti or shirt depending upon the occasion. In Goa there is a more impact of westernization. Sometimes a short cloth or a towel is thrown over the shoulder by some old men

even today. The head is sometimes covered with a piece of cloth or an ordinary turban. Recently, young men like to wear trousers and modern shirts.

The pattern of the hair of male Kunbis used to grow a long tuft of hair at the back of the head. Every Kunbi irrespective of subdivision strictly adhered to this practice. The long tuft was also regarded as the symbol of their tribe. The cutting off or trimming a tuft was prohibited. If any one violated the tradition / customs then he had to pay the fine at the tribal court. They were also prohibited from having a hair cut. They used to shave their beard by themselves with the help of wakhor (one kind of knife used as razor). It is sharpened with a stone. Men did not wear chappals earlier. The contact of leather chappals was supposed to result in pollution and for its purification a person had to use the solution of cow dung. However, the footwear made of bark by Kunbis themselves was not a taboo. The use of soap and other cosmetics was prohibited. They were not allowed to use mirror before marriage.

The turban decorated with Aboli or nail dye (crossandra undulate folia) from the part of traditional attire of the men folk on the day of Chathurdashi in Goa and Holi in Dakshina Kannada. Except crescent – shaped ear studs, men do not use any other ornaments for daily wear. But the men of the younger generation do not wear this ornament today. The dress of a bride-groom consists of a dhoti worn in kacche style or Dotara, basing (a crown like head dress worn on the occasion of marriage) bangles, gold ring on the finger, anklets, necklace of gold balls, hittalakaisara (gold necklace designed of different vegetables) gejjatike (necklace having the shape of anklets) galionte (earstud in primitive style), and a red shawl tied on

the chest in the cross mark fashion. Today, in some region drastic change has taken place in the dress of a bridegroom. They have almost adopted the wedding dress of the non-Brahmins of the district. Various ornaments and flower are worn only on special occasions such as marriage and Holi dance. When they are outside at manual work, they wear Muttale (a cap made of areca nut sheet) as a sort of protection for the head.

The dress of the Kunbi women is of primitive style. They cover their bust and loin with sari and both ends are tied up on the chest. This mode of wearing sari is called Gente / Detali. Some women wear sari in gente style only at home. Wherever they go out sari is worn in usual Indian style. Blouses were unknown to them till recently. Even today, blouse is not worn by many orthodox women of older generation. This feature of their dress is attributed to the belief that their goddess of Goa (Amba or Adishakti) wears a blouse on her upper part of the body; therefore a Kunbi woman is prohibited from wearing a blouse. However, Kunbi bride wears the blouse on the wedding day only as she is believed to be the symbol of mother deity. Some women of kodiyala subdivision in olden days also wore the sari in the kacche style. They apply oil on their head, part their hair, and comb it. Flowers are a passion with the women folk. They are fond of Aboli. However, wearing of Aboli by an unmarried girl (also boy) is forbidden. Either they weave their hair into one large plait or it is behind into a knot and fastened with a pin. But hair-knot is quite common. Like men, women also wear muttale whenever they work outside.

In respect, ornament is concerned, women wear variety of ornaments of different designs and sizes. They are fond of

gold and silver ornaments. However, they use ornaments made of aluminum, beads, coins, copper etc. They wear ornaments on different parts of the body such as ear, nose, head, neck, hand, fingers, and ankles.

The mangalasutra is worn by only married kunbi women. The necklace is made of tiny black beads and the tali consist of coral and gold balls. It is called peeduka in their dialect. However, the women of this generation have given up the primitive form of mangalasutra and adopted the mangalasutra of usual Hindu style. Readymade mangalasutra is also purchased and worn today. Different types of silver anklets and toe-ring, available in the market are worn. In respect of dress pattern Kunbis follow both traditional and modern styles. The attitude of the respondents towards children wearing modern dresses and ornaments instead of traditional types was evaluated.

It is obvious from the data 183 (91.5%) of the respondents are in favor of children wearing modern dresses and ornament instead of traditional types. Remaining 17 (8.5%) of them do not approve it. Thus, it is manifest from the data that Kunbis hold as progressive outlook as far as wearing of modern dress and ornaments are concerned.

CONCLUSION

The Kunbis of Goa speak a dialect of Konkani where as the Kunbis of Dakshina Kannada speak Kannada or Tulu as both are local languages. However, many words are used from Mundari language by both of them with a similar meaning, which belongs to the family of Indo-Aryan languages. It has become a distinct dialect owing to their isolation for centuries from other communities speaking Konkani. It is observed that

the Kunbi dialect is undergoing a change owing to the influence of local speech forms and culture is true but in some respect they maintained their distinct feature. They are gradually abandoning their original dialect and adopting local Kannada or Tulu as their mother tongue. It could be a sign of a gradual erosion of their tribal identity. Moreover, various Sanskrit words used by the upper caste Hindus are often heard in their talk, which indicates the on-going process of Hinduisation. The study shows that they use different languages due to the political boundaries and also to over come from the administrative difficulties. It is important to note that, some of the words used by both the community from Goa and Dakshina Kannada are still in practice. Since past Kunbis depended upon forests for their food and hence did not use grains and vegetables. There are certain restrictions regarding food habits owing to various beliefs and food taboos. Though they are non-vegetarians, it is surprising to note that they used to avoid eating the flesh of animals reared at home. The animal, which are hunted for food, are considered sacred and venerated. However, effects of changes in the modern society can be seen clearly on their food habits. Today, rice (particularly boiled rice) has become the staple food and the uses of grain and vegetables are common among Kunbis. As a result of deforestation and reservation of forest, the use of nutritious forest produces is declining.

Regarding health, Kunbis of both the places are facing major problems about their ill health. The study shows that, there are some who suffer from fatal diseases caused by unhygienic living conditions, lack of access of clean water and malnutrition. Consumption of alcohol has affected the health of many Kunbis and caused certain infectious diseases. It is observed that the number of people suffering from tuberculosis

is more among the Kunbis than among other communities in their villages. A large number of Kunbis today consult both religious specialists and modern doctors for the treatment of diseases and believe that the diseases are mainly due to the influence of supernatural elements and evil spirits. This shows that although the majority of the Kunbis are superstitious, they have started consulting the modern doctors.

The women wear saris in the Dethali (Gente) fashion. The normal dress of a Kunbi male is a dhoti worn around the waist. It is observed that a good percentage among them has given up their traditional dresses and wear modern dresses. They are also found using cosmetic as a result of their contact with people of other communities. The literacy rate in Goa much higher than that of Karnataka but Educationally, Kunbis are backward. There is no much difference in educational status of Kunbis of Dakshina Kannada District. However, when there is a comparison of educational level of the Kunbis with that of their parents and the children, it can be noticed that the educational level of their children has improved. It is important to note that a good percentage of Kunbis have expressed their desire to educate their children at least up to high School.

Even in the present scenario, though majority of them do not subscribe to newspapers, sizeable number read newspapers. It shows that Kunbis are gradually allowing themselves to be exposed to newspapers and other means of communication in modern society. The study on frequency of visits to villages and tours by Kunbis shows that contact and interaction of the Kunbis with the other people are increasing and consequently the Kunbis are being exposed at modernization.

References

Gomes Olivino J.F, Village Goa ,Astudy of Goan Social Structure and Change(S.Chanda & Co.,New Delhi,1987).

Herskovits Meliville J., Cultural Anthropogy, (Oxford & IBlt, New Delh).

Manorama, (Malayala Manorama Press, Kottayam;1996:657).

Mascarenhas, Antonio.,The Kudubis, Goa from pre-historic time, (Vasco, clear name of the publication not furnished)

Pereira Rui Gomes,'Goa Hindu Temples and Deities',(Printwell press, Panaji, 1978).

Prabhu,S.S.,The Konkani people,Amche Daaiz, (The Ambrisian, Mangalore, 1965).

Prescribed book Enviromental Studies for Std.V,(Goa Board of Secondary and Higher secondary Education, Alto, Betim Goa,2008).

Rajyalakshmi, P., Tribal food habits, (Gian, New Delhi, 1991).

Sheik Ali B., 'Goa through the Ages' Vol. II, (Goa University, Bambolim, 1990).

_____., 'Goa wins freedom', (Goa University, Bambolim Goa, 1973).

Satosker, B.D., 'Gomantak Prakruti ani Sawskruti', Vol. II, (Shubhada-Saraswat publication, Pune, 1979).

Stephen Fuchs, The Aboriginal Tribes, (Mac Millan,Delhi, 1973).

Sing, K.S., People of India, Goa Vol. XXI, (Popular Prakashan Pvt.Ltd. Bombay).

Saldanha Jerome A, Origin and Growth of Konkani or Goan communities and Language, (The Anglo-Lusitano Press, 1938).

Shashi Bharti, Tribal culture, Economy and Health,(Rawat,Jaipur,1991).

Thurston, Edger, Caste and Tribes of South India,(Vol I to VII (Madras Govt. Press, 1909).

Thakkar, A.V., The problem of Aborgins in India,(Poona Gokhale Institute, 1941).

CHAPTER III

MARRIAGE

Marriage among Kunbis is considered obligatory. It is called vaddig, Lagan, vardik or Holad and in Goa those who follow Christian religion they called Cajjar. They generally observe tribal endogamy. However, marriage between Kunbis sub-divisions is prohibited. Thus, a system of sub-tribe endogamy is also observed. In Kunbi society, monogamy is predominant; polygene and polyandry are strictly prohibited. In olden days, anyone practicing polygamy was expelled from the tribe. "It was allowed and practiced among the Kunbis of Canara District of presidency" (Campbell James M.:1883:219). Pre-material and extra marital relationship is not common among them. They are divided into exogamous clans known as Bali's, which were originally totemic. Bali exogamy and often village exogamy are observed among various sub-divisions in Kunbis society. Similarly, as regards preferential marriage, cross cousin marriage and sorority are preferred for establishing marriage relationship. Among the tribes, marriage is regulated by the observance of various rules of their clan or village exogamy, tribal endogamy and certain preferences such as cross-cousin marriages, levirate, and sorority differ from one tribe to another and from one sub-tribe to another within the same tribe.

A marked difference can be noticed between tribal marriage and that in the Hindu society. In other words, it may be said that no uniform marriage pattern can be found. Tribes practice different ways of selecting a mate, such as marriage arranged by parent (marriage by settlement), marriage by elopement (or mutual consent), marriage by exchange (exchange of boys and girls between the two families), marriage by service (by the payment of bride price in the form of service), marriage by trial (by test), marriage by intrusion (disrespectful marriage), marriage by Hindu rites etc. The studies on tribal marriage carried out by Stephen Fuchs (1973), Sachidananda (1979), Vidyarthi and Rai (1977), Vyas N.N. (1980) and many other Indian and Western scholars clearly show that marriage among the tribes is more a social contract than a religious sacrament. However, in the present day society the marriage rituals, practices, and objectives are greatly affected by the impact of Sanskritisation and Hinduisation, in middle and west India. "The tribal people have their traditional marriage ceremony blended with the Hindu rituals". (Vidyarthi and Rai :1977:280). For selecting the life partners certain specific way such as marriage arranged by parents (marriage by settlement), marriage by purchase, and marriage by exchange, marriage by tribal or test, by Hindu rites have been found among the Kunbis. Thus it has been observed various common tribal rules and restrictions of marriage and certain tribal ways of acquiring mates prevailing among Kunbis during the study. However, in our present day Kunbi society the institution of marriage has been constantly changing, while the basic matrimonial system and preference like Bali exogamy, tribal endogamy, sub-tribe endogamy, sorority unions etc. continue. Though some of their traditional rites and customs have survived in some regions, their marriage rituals have been

greatly affected and modified by the impact of local Hindu customs and to some extent modernization and education.

CUSTOMS OF MARRIAGE: The clan system is patrilineal in which children belong to father's clan. The Bali / Kutumb of two families are ascertained before the marriage. Marriage cannot be arranged within the same Bali /Kutumb. Similarly, there are few clans among Kunbis, which are further grouped as clusters of clan. This system, which resembles the unit of party, is usually exogamous. Such exogamous phratries are called Hodbood. Generally, in any two families if the name of deities is the same, the two families are not allowed to marry. As already discussed, Kunbis are divided into several exogamous sects or clans (Bunka, Kul or Warg) which today they call Bali / Kutumb under the influence of non-Brahmin castes of the District. However, strict observance of both clan and phratry exogamy has transformed today.

One of the elderly relatives is asked to pick up flowers of areca nut offered at the sanctum sanctorum of family God. In this test, the marriage is arranged or fixed if the chosen flowers are even and if they are uneven (or single flower), then the marriage cannot be settled. In today's society, Kunbis consult Brahmin astrologers for determining the match between the bride and bridegroom. The marriage alliance has to be approved by astrologers on the basis of their names etc. in some regions; Kunbis practice another method for bride matching.

MATE CHOICE AND RITUALS: Marriage among Kunbis is settled by the consent of the parents of the bride and the bridegroom. The father of the boy, maternal uncle and other elderly responsible relatives visit the girl's house for marriage

negotiations. In some area mother of boy and other responsible women, relatives also accompany the team. Marriage contact is not made with those who are expelled from the wadow. During the formalities of marriage negotiations, girl's character is also taken into consideration.

On the other hand, the girl's parents generally prefer a match who has knowledge of holly dance and other tribal arts. The girl is not expected to meet the boy when marriage negotiations are on. In case meeting takes place between the boy and the girl, the marriage contact fails. Thus, marriage arranged by the parents and elderly relatives is the general rule among the Kunbis. In olden days, especially among the Goan Kunbis, the young man was required to prove himself as courageous, strong and brave before marriage. An eligible young man of marriageable age was expected to conduct the buffalo race without falling down in the tournament held at the village called Vandaru in Udupi Taluka. He was allowed to marry the girl after he successfully passed the test having proved his mettle for his strength and bravery. This custom of Kunbis may be indicated as tribal marriage by trial or test. An example is found among Bhil tribes, which is known as Gol Gadhedo.

After selecting the girl, elderly relatives and parents of the boy finalize the day for betrothal and inform the same to the girl's parents. One day prior to the betrothal, elderly relatives of the bride visit the bridegroom's house. On this day consent is formally given by taking an oath before the family deity holding betel leaves and areca nut in the presence of elderly people saying that 'our consent is given for marriage and the day of engagement is agreeable'. After observing these formalities, food is served to all guests. Today, Brahmin

priests are consulted for fixing an auspicious day for marriage. It is interesting to note that for the past 25 to 30 years, many of them have started using horoscopes and the Brahmin priests or astrologers to find out whether the boy and the girl are mutually compatible by examining horoscopy. It is clearly regarded as a sign of Sanskritisation. If the boy and the girl are not mutually compatible through horoscope, then, one of the elderly near relatives picks up the flowers of areca nut from the sanctum sanctorum of family deity. If the number of flowers picked up is even, marriage is conducted. And if, it is odd, then the proposed marriage will be dropped.

SOIRIK (Betrothal): The soirik (betrothal) is generally performed in Hindu style. On an appointed day, the bridegroom's parents and responsible relatives arrive at the bride'shouse. Engagement is performed at the bride's house in the presence of the Gaunkar, invited persons and elderly relatives belonging to the both families. Elderly and close relatives of both the parties stand face-to face before the families deity carrying Tambula (also Sakshiveelya or pan vida), which includes the articles of betel leaves, areca nut and flower. Their mutual contract is further confirmed after Tambula is exchanged between both the parties before the assembled relatives. It is performed as evidence, in the name of family deity, village deity, deceased ancestors, and Tambula. When Tambula is mutually exchanged, engagement becomes valid. Sometimes, this particular ritual may take place before the deity situated at the Gaunkar's house.

The venue, the day of the marriage and printing of invitations are decided on this day itself. The exchange of Tambula is called vido or sakshido, which further means betrothal. After the betrothal, the bride and the bridegroom are

invited by their close relatives separately to share their happiness.

JOAT / HOODA (Bride price): The bridegroom marries the brides in exchange for some money and articles given to the bride and bride's party. Among Kunbis marriage is not celebrated without the payment of bride price. The bride price is determined on engagement day. Generally, the payment of bride price is traditionally fixed in the form of money, gifts, and articles – however, there is variation in the payment of bride price among Kunbis. Divorce rare in Kunbi society since bride price is an important aspect of the marriage contract. Like many other tribes, the girl is considered an essential working member and a potential child-bearer among Kunbis. Therefore, the loss is compensated through the payment of bride price. Besides, it is observed in balanced sex ratio i.e. lower number of females and widespread poverty that have encouraged them to practice bride price.

Bride price is called tera /Joat. It is also called Karalek in some areas. Customary bride price among Kunbis generally consists of two or three saris, vermilion, flower, comb, lime, sickle, indigenous rope, Karimani (necklace of the black beads) peeduka (gold balls), coral piece, an umbrella made of palm leaves, flail, fiber of Agave Americana, clove seeds, gold petals(head ornaments), mugulu(ear ornaments), twenty bundle of betel leaves, one thousand area nut, ear-nut, anklets, toe-ring, necklace of twenty-five paise coins, glass bangles etc. If the bride's family is economically poor, in such cases, bride price comprises certain agricultural products and money gifts such as two munis of rice (One muni weighs 40Kilo grams of rice), two tins of juggery(one tin weighing around 15 Kilo grams) and cash ranging from rupees 200 to rupees 600. The

husband cannot sell bride price presented in the form of material wealth to the bride and her family, in case he has no issues. In the olden days, if there were no male children, the gold ornaments presented to bride had to be returned to her parents. However, it is reported that, such traditional rules of bride price are not strictly observed today. Among Kunbis, it is interesting to note that the father of the girl present some gifts to the bridegroom. It is customary to present certain agricultural and hunting materials in the form of gifts to the bridegroom. Such gifts usually consist of sickle, sieve, flail, earthen pot, rope, hunting nets, sticks, and spear. However, the study on attitude of Kunbis towards bride price and dowry show that majority of the respondents i.e. 173(46.75%) are not in favour of the practice of dowry. On the other hand, 197(53.24%) respondents favour the existing system of bride price. However, the negative answer of 13 (7.51%) respondents towards bride price and 37 (18.78%) affirmative answers regarding dowry indicate that the system of dowry is becoming important among Kunbis.

Table 3.1 Respondents' attitude towards marriageable age for girls

Marriageable Age group in years	x (Mid point)	f Frequency	% age	fx
Below 15	12.5	02	1	25
15 - 20	17.5	77	38.5	1347.5
20 - 25	22.5	118	59	2655
25 - 30	27.5	03	1.5	82.5
	Total	200	100.00	4110

The marriageable age for girls has been classified into four groups viz. below 15, 15-20, 20-25, and 25-30. The researcher noticed that there is no difference in marriageable age in respect of respondents from Goa and that of Dakshina

Kannada District. The study reveals (see table 3.1) that out of the total sample of 200, the majority 118(59%) fall within the age group of 20-25 and the opinion of 77(38.5%) respondents fall in the age group of 15-20. The average age of marriage for Kunbi girls in the opinion of respondents should be 21. The data presented in the table indicate a tendency towards an increase in the age of marriage for girls. Researcher observed the similar opinion at both the places about the marriageable age.

RITUALS PRIOR TO ACTUAL MARRIAGE: In the past, Kunbi marriage was very simple. The rituals and rites observed before and after the actual marriage are discussed here. Every ritual among Kunbis formally begins with an announcement made by a responsible male relative. The ceremony called roce (an act symbolizing purification of the bride and bridegroom is held before the marriage. During a week, prior to the wedding a ritual of Naandi / Mandap diwali is observed at the house of both the bride and the bridegroom, which the have adopted from local Brahmins. The ritual is observed in order to ward off evils and avoid the postponement of marriage consequent on the birth or death of a close relative.

REAG: Reag or shaving rite is one of the important pacificator and preliminary rituals acts observed for men on the occasion of marriage. A barber is invited to the bridegroom's house on the eve of the wedding for performing the ritual service of shaving. While performing the service of shaving, the bridegroom holds betel leaves and a coconut to which a piece of coconut is tied. The face of the bridegroom is shaved entirely and the head, only a little symbolically by the barber. Shaving songs (Raegechigani) are sung by a few female relatives on this occasion, which depict prayer to God and the

act of shaving. Sometimes, men may also join the singers. The songs also give expression to their joy and feelings. After the shaving rituals, bridegroom presents rice measuring one seer, a coconut, a betel nut, a towel on a banana leaf to the barber as a gift for his service. After shaving, the next immediate purificatory ritual act is a ritual bath.

RITUAL BATH: Ritual bath is called by different names such as Nimbuda navneshe, Bol, Kalashasnana or Chowkisnana. A square is made near the house by installing the limb of jeenia, or Ankkados (Leea indica) on four sides. The pieces of turmeric and leaves of mango tree are tied to the stems. The thread is tied round the square. The thread is symbolically used as a protection against bad omens and evils spirits. The temporary square shaped bathrooms situated outside the house are known a matooli. The wife of a maternal uncle plays an important role in conducting this ritual. The ritual bath (at Mattoli) is given both to the bridegroom and the bride at their respective houses on a day prior to the wedding. Among Goan Kunbis a branch of cotton (Gossypium Herbaceum) is planted at this ritual. It is customary for five married women relatives to give ritual bath to the bridegroom for which is used an earthen pot tied with a piece of turmeric and leaves of mango at its neck. The same earthen pot is used for pouring dhare (pouring of water) on the next day. Every woman pours water on him from the head to the feet of the bridegroom, on knee-joint and then over his shoulders on his left side. This is repeated again on the right side from head to feet. Coconut juice was the main ingredient used for giving ritual bath for both bride and the bridegroom in the olden days a day before the actual wedding or theirs took place. The use of earthen-pot for ritual bath and for pouring dhare water symbolizes the poor condition of Kunbi society. Today earthen pot is used

everywhere even by the affluent Kunbis on ritual occasions though it is regarded as inauspicious or bad by the Hindus.

HALAD SHAASTRA (Turmeric Ritual): Along with the other purification ritual this is another purificatory ritual observed on the day prior to the wedding. According to this custom, both the bride and groom are anointed after they return from their ritual bath with a paste prepared by mixing turmeric, coconut oil and water. The paste is stirred and prepared by five married women relatives with a cane of Leea Indicta. A piece of turmeric, iron (in the form of nail or knife or scissors), and leaves of mango are tied to the top of the cane for applying turmeric pest on the body by every woman relative in rotation. The same procedure of pouring water on different part of the body as at ritual bath is followed during anointment. Besides those five women, other woman relatives also join in applying the paste on the back of the bride/bridegroom, while special songs relevant to the occasion continue to be sung. The ritual is normally observed inside the house. After this ritual is over, both the bride and bridegroom are again given bath. This ritual act may be explained as one kind of rite of adornment found generally in primitive societies. The use of the cane of Leea Indica at various rituals clearly indicates their earlier association with wild plants and dendrolatry. This plant was widely used by Kunbis for basket-work. Even today most of the tribes of Dakshina Kannada District, particularly Koragas use it for weaving baskets. The turmeric is the most common ingredient used at various rituals among Hindus and tribal communities in India. The use of turmeric illustrates auspiciousness, which purifies the body and acts as anti-biotic and anti-poisonous drug and also anti-carcinojenic. Sharma and Sharma opine that certain plant substances function as a protection against evil spirits in different societies.

WORSHIP OF OVEN: After the ritual bath the bridegroom proceeds to a temporarily erected marriage kitchen hall, where he offers worship to the oven and fire. It is called Agnipooja. The firewood is symbolically burnt and the bridegroom keeps cooking vessel containing rice and water on the oven. The oven is worshipped by breaking a coconut and offering betel leaves and nuts. The significance of this ritual is to ward off the evil and ensure safe cooking and the cooking beings only after this ritual.

On the other hand, similar preparatory and preliminary acts are performed at bride's house also. The bride is expected to perform certain important chores as a token, which remind her of domestic responsibilities. Symbolically, rice is powdered and the bride lights oven on a day, prior to the wedding .such functional rites are also performed in order to mark the beginning of a family life.

WORSHIP OF A TREE: After observing the ritual in the kitchen, the bridegroom is expected to perform tree worship. Symbolically, a branch of silk cotton tree (*Bombax ceibe)* is planted by the bridegroom in the marriage booth. The tree is watered and manure with cow-dung and a little rice. It is worshipped by offering betel leaves and nuts. A similar ritual is observed by the bride at her house. This ritual clearly illustrates dendrolatry in ethnic religion. Tribes everywhere believe that spirits and supernatural beings have incarnated in the form of trees and a few trees are abodes of Gods. "Earlier the bridal couple on the second day of marriage had to go five times round the Bombax post (silk cotton trees), set up at the marriage booth and similar act is repeated on the third day at bridegroom's house" (Gomes Olivino J.F:1987:100). Now a day, this

ritual is observed prior to the wedding. It is reported that in some houses the branch of Bombax is just tied to one of the pillars of marriage both and no ritual is actually observed.

THRUSHING RITUAL: The next preliminary ritual is threshing the paddy with a flail. A flail is a large wooden pestle used to thrush the corn. The bridegroom in the marriage booth performs this ritual. A few men and women also assist him in threshing act. This ritual would suggest their association with agricultural work and collective living. These functional rites also indicate the beginning of a householder and forming a family. All these ritual come to an end with a dinner. According to custom, it is the duty of the Gaunkar to make all arrangement for the marriage.

THE MARRIAGE CEREMONY: The marriage ceremony is performed either at bride's house or at a groom's house in accordance with the convenience of both the parties. The date and place for marriage is decided at the time of engagement. Since patriarchal rules are followed, the marriage among Kunbis is generally conducted in bride's home. According to the customs, the boy's party goes to girl's house where marriage is performed. When the marriage is conducted in halls and temples, the bridegroom's party normally makes the arrangement. Even if the marriage is conducted at the bridegroom's house, the rules and procedures of the marriage are observed as if it is being performed at the bride's house. However, marriage at the bridegroom's house is regarded as something inferior and looked down upon in the present day society. The marriage held in the bride's house is referred to have Ekapatichivaddig, and when it is conducted at the bridegroom's house it is known as Doanpatichivaddig. In olden days, marriage among Kunbis used to last for five or six days. On

the wedding day morning, at the house of both the bride and the bridegroom, their family Gods and the God of the earth are specially worshiped by way of offering five betel leaves and an areca nut at five different places at courtyard, temple, and venue of marriage (which may be wedding hall of the temple). A special pandal is erected at bride's house with bamboo poles or wooden pillars. On the roof of the pandal, thatches are spread and it is enclosed with either thatches or branches of Indian Sago Palm (Caryota urens). Two bamboo poles decorated with leaves of mango are erected at the entrance.

The bridegroom's party goes to the bride's house accompanied by a band set in a procession. The bride's party at the entrance receives the bridegroom's party. The bridegroom's is received by five married women relatives by waving sacred light. A new cloth is spread by the mandvala (mandvala is the name of the local washer man's caste) at the entrance for bridegroom to walk on. The washer man's services are necessary on every ritual occasion among Hindus. His maternal-uncle and other close relatives accompany bridegroom. He is also received by the father of the bride, holding on oil lamp of rice paste, which is covered by a banana leaf. The bride's father as a mark of respect washes bridegroom's feet. Rice yellowed with turmeric is sprinkled on the guests. Afterwards the wedding procession is led to the marriage pandol. The actual marriage ceremony is performed in the mantap (a mantap is the central part of the marriage booth, usually built with plantain trees and where bridal couple is seated together). A responsible woman relative receives Toliye. Toliye is a part of bride price comprising sari, face power, blouse-piece, kumkum, flower, plait (braid) available in the market. The bride at the marriage uses these dress and cosmetics.

As regards bridal dress, the bride wears the sari and blouse in the usual Hindu style. A Goan Kunbi bride wears a blouse only on the wedding day. Aboli flower is very essential for the bride. Aboli flower is a taboo for an unmarried girl except among Jogi Kunbis. Among Jogi Kunbis, the flower of Karmal or Indian Oleander (Nerium indicum) is essential for the bride and a girl is not supposed to wear the flower of Begla or pagoda tree (Plumeria Rubra). Its garland is used at the time of marriage. The Kunbi bride is decked with a variety of ornaments for upper and lower parts of the body in the same manner in which a Hindu bride is decorated.

The dress of a bridegroom consists of a dhoti worn in kaccha style, a red shawl tied across the chest, basing (crownlike head dress), bangles, gold ring on the finger, necklace of gold balls, anklets, Kalkadaga (gold anklet), galionte (ear stud in primitive style), hittalakaisara (gold necklace designed of different vegetables), gejjatike (anklet-shaped necklace). The bridegroom also wears the nail dye and pagoda tree flowers. A piece of turmeric is tied to the wrist of both the bride and the bridegroom. The Brahmin priests, usually from karada sect are invited to officiate at the marriage, which indicates sanskritisation among the Kunbis. The Karada Brahmins are the Marathi-speaking Brahmins who have migrated from Maharashtra to Dakshina Kannada. Recently, tulu and Kannada-speaking shivalli Brahmins Priest also officiate at Kunbi marriage. Brahmin priests perform Ganahoma (worship of lord Ganesha) and mantras (sacred varses) are chanted by him in Sanskrit. A Brahmin priest is offered one seer of rice, a coconut, some vegetables, and money as fees for his service. However, in some regions marriage is conducted without a Brahmin priest. Dhar (pouring

of water) is an important ritual at perform in a Kunbi marriage. This would indicate the intact of Sanskritisation. Before Dhar is perform, the bridal couple along with their parents and other close relatives goes around (clockwise) the mantap. The bridal couple stands facing each other, with a screen stretched between them. After the exchange of garland, their hands are joined and the screen is removed. Here bridegroom's father who is referred to as ezman pours water over their united hands. It is interesting to note that unlike among Hindus, among Kunbis the bride's parents do not pour water. However, today, under the influence of Sanskritisation the parents of both the bride and the bridegroom pour Dhar. The marriage is conducted under the leadership of Rayabari, an elderly responsible relative of the bridegroom's family. Among Goan Kunbis, a person who conduct marriage and who is in charge of the property connected to the marriage is known as Dhedo.

The bridegroom ties a katkarimani or peeduka (also pidook or sari), (meaning, necklace of black beads) around the bride's neck. A few married women touch it before it is tied. The animal figure such as rabbit, dog; parrot, horse, and camel made of paste of rice flour are venerated at their marriage. The figure of fish is also represented in the form of rice paste at the marriage of Jogi Kunbi. This clearly indicates their earlier totemism and zoolatry. A branch of the silk cotton tree is reported to be an essential thing in the marriage.

After the Dhar ceremony the Brahmin priest winds a long thread around the bridal couple five times surrounding the necks of the couple and then ties it to a coconut, held by bridegroom. It is repeated again below the legs of the bridal couple and tied to another coconut held by the bridegroom.

These two coconuts are later offered to family Gods. This ritual act is referred to as nooludike. Among Goa Kunbi the bridegroom is seated on the 'Mura' of rice and bride sits down on paddy 'Mura' when this ritual act is observed. This ritual act may be explained as a symbol of fertility of land and family.

The assembled relatives in their dialect sing the traditional wedding songs known as vardikegani. Betel nuts and leaves, a coconut and boiled rice are kept in front of the mantap. The Bridal couple is greeted with a sacred oil lamp by five married women relatives singing an appropriate traditional song. Boiled rice is then sprinkled on the bridal couple by relatives and invited guests. This ritual act is referred to as saese or syhasi. Owing to Sanskritisation, the ritual acts of Home and Saptapadi (treading seven steps) have also entered into their rituals at some weddings. The Gaunkar, Raibari and other important relatives are called upon announcing their name, village etc. to bless the couple. The relatives and invited guests offer presents and gifts to the newly wedded couple. This entire customs and rituals act have a resemblance to those among Hindus. The day's ceremony ends with a sumptuous vegetarian dinner consisting of rice, curry, milk pudding, and sweets. It is interesting to note that though Kunbis are non-vegetarians and expert hunters, non-vegetarian food is strictly prohibited at their marriages, which clearly suggests the process of Sanskritisation.

Certain games are also played for fun, as a ritual act especially among Goa Kunbis. For instance, a fishing rituals is observed in which bridal couple are expected to search for a silver whiting/lady fishes (sillago Sihama), which is kept in a wooden vessel in water and take it out. The couple is also

called on to fill rice into a side (A side is a small cylindrical shaped device measuring one fourth seer grain). The bridal couple repeats this act three times. It is to be noted that these ritual acts also indicate the beginning of a householder, family prosperity, and wealth. In olden days, according to the custom of Kodiyala Kunbis, on the fifth and last day of the wedding, the bridegroom had to organize hunting operation with near relatives as a ritual act. However, this custom has disappeared today. In Kunbi marriages, especially of Goan section, bride's mother is not given much importance. In fact, in their traditional society she was not permitted to participate in her daughter's marriage. After the marriage Are and Jogi Kunbis dance in delight at the bridegroom's house late into the night; whereas, wedding dances are not found in other sub-tribes.

OPUN DIWAP (Ceremonial farewell to the bride): This ritual act is sending the bride away with the bridegroom's party. It is a formal farewell in which bride is handed over by the parents and guardians to the groom's parents and guardians in the presence of relatives and friends. The bride, her parents, and other relatives stand on the other side. The relatives, guests, and friends watch the proceedings. Bride's women and close relatives sing sad ceremonial songs. On this occasion of marriage there is a lot of weeping.

The song describes how happy the bride was in her parental house. The songs also say that she was happily reared and brought up by her parents, maternal uncle, and other near relatives. In a similar manner, she will be properly looked after and taken care of at her groom's house. Almost all close relatives and women relatives weep while other guests and friends become sorrow-stricken when the songs are sung. At this time, the father of the bride prays to God and formally

gives his daughter to the care of the bridegroom for shouldering the future responsibility of his daughter. On this occasion, when daughter is being taken away from her parent's care, the parents express their tenderness, attachment, affection, and consolation by weeping. This is one kind of weeping ritual observed by Kunbis for reasons like separation of daughter from her parents. A variety of weeping rituals practiced on the occasion of different ceremonies, according to him," The weeping and exchange of parents when friends come together is a means of renewing their feelings of attachment to one another. The weeping at marriage, at initiation, and on the occasion of death is a reaction of difference or compassion when feeling of solidarity are attached by a partial breaking of the social ties that bind persons to one another" (Brown Radcliffe A,R:1922:246). Apart from the above, the ritual act observed on this occasion among Goan Kunbis is very curious. The bride is made to stand inside the main room of the house and the groom's father outside. Several married women relatives accompany the bride. The bride is expected to light a lamp and keep it either on the threshold or at the veranda. The bangles worn by the bride are broken and thrown inside the room by the father of the bridegroom. A betel leaf is torn and a coconut is broken. The bride places the broken coconut on the ground downward. She expected to keep a vessel upside-down on the floor. She then puts the light off. She is expected to remove her wedding dress and wear a sari in the traditional style (Gente) without wearing a blouse. When the bride is sent away in this manner, her mother in emotion sings ceremonial songs and other women relatives in a low tone repeat it slowly. Though the above ritual acts are regarded inauspicious by Hindus, it is accepted by Kunbis as a symbol of breaking of the parental ties and of the family bond. It also symbolizes the breaking of the parental

clan and lineage relationship. Thus, the membership although of the bride in her parental family symbolically ceases by observing these ritual acts, the bride is reminded of the responsibilities in her husband's house, these practices are also a reflection of a female dominated culture.

RITUAL ACTS AFTER THE MARRIAGE CEREMONY

BAGLADA / Humro hupop: On the day after the marriage, the bride with her new relatives goes to the bridegroom's house where a ritual called Baglada is performed by formally crossing the threshold. It symbolizes the admission of the bride into the groom's house, and her membership in husband's house. Both men and women sing the ceremonial songs on this occasion, which is known as Bagladagani.

The bride and the bridegroom stand outside holding betel nuts and leaves. Their relatives remain inside, holding betel nuts and leaves. At first, betel leaves and nuts are exchanged between a male relative and the bride. It is repeated between a women and the bridegroom. Then the bride pushes the rice inside with her right leg at the threshold while bridegroom pushes the rice outside with her left leg. This ritual symbolizes fertility and prosperity. The features of this ritual also have a resemblance to those of the Hindu castes.

RITUAL BATH: Among Kunbis, ritual bath with the application of coconut oil to the body of bridal couple is an important purificatory act. It is observed after the marriage at both the bride's and the bridegroom's house. Such acts are referred to as Marusese.

SAMMAN AND PORTHANI: On the fifth day, after the marriage a wedding reception is arranged at the groom's house

in the same manner as done by neighboring Hindus. It is called the feast of Sammana. After the dinner, bride goes to her parental house with her husband and near relatives. Bridal couple is offered gifts by the mother of the bride. On the next day they are served with feast. At this ceremony, the wife is expected to eat some portion of the food from the husband's share. After sometimes, the bridal couple is once again invited with the groom's parents and near relatives to the bride's house for a dinner, which they call Porthani or pach partan.

MARRIAGE AND MONSOON: Marriage in Kunbi society is generally conducted during monsoon. Kunbi prefer to celebrate it at night. Since majority of the members of Kunbi depend heavily on casual unskilled labour, agriculture and vegetable cultivation, these works are severely affected if marriages are conducted during daytime in summer. During summer, the agriculture, vegetable cultivation particularly watering the plants and marketing and the mode of living require considerable work on the part of both men and women. Hence, the marriage ceremonies among Kunbis mostly take place during the rainy season.

PREFERRED MARRIAGE (PREFERENTIAL): Like many tribes, Kunbi have some preference and prohibitions for choosing their mates. "A man choosing his mate in a particular category of person is called preferred or preferential marriage" (Mair Lucy, 1991:87). Among Kunbis, the following males and females are preferred for establishing matrimonial relationship.

Cross-Cousin Marriage: "Among Kunbis the marriage between the children if siblings of opposite sex are preferred, particularly between a man and a daughter of his mother's brother" (Mair, Lucy: 1991:88). However, the preference for a

daughter of one's father's sister (patrilateral Cross-Cousin) is not rare among Kunbi.

Sororate and Levirate: "Sororate is defined as marrying the deceased or even alive wife's sister" (Vidyarthi and Rai: 1977:289). Among Kunbis, men marry the sister of his wife after her death. However, sororatic union is preferred with mutual consent and not practiced as a rule. Among Kunbis, the practice of marrying a widow (Levirate) is very rarely found. "Widows may not marry a man of the sect to whom, her deceased husband belonged" (Thurston, Edger: 1909:101). "The levirate is an expression of the principle that a marriage made legal by bride, wealth is not dissolved even by death" (Mair Lucy: 1991:93).

WIDOW REMARRIAGE: In olden days widow re-marriage was permitted among Kunbis. As Sturrock (1894) observed, widow re-marriage was practiced, but in its celebration. 'Dhar' was not performed. Thurston in his study on Kunbis observed that 'in the case of the re-marriage of a widow, the bride, and the bridegroom take their seats and rice is thrown over them. The dhar is not poured over their hands. James M. Campbell also expresses similar views (1983) it is clear from the above that there were no restrictions on widow re-marriage in olden days. However, the important ritual acts required for marriage were not performed at re-marriage. In the present day, we observe the imposition of several restrictions on widow re-marriage, which have a resemblance to upper caste Hindu. For instance, a Kunbi widow is not expected to wear flowered and designed saris and sari offered to her by groom's party at the marriage. She is not permitted to wear mangalasutra (wedding badge), nose stud, glass bangles, flowers, toe ring, ear stud,

and a vermilion mark on the forehead. She is not allowed to attend auspicious rituals and functions like the Hindu widows. On the twelfth day, after the death of the husband her parents take the widow to her parental house for a few days. She will be then sent back to her husband's house where she and her children, if any, will be looked after. A widow gets a share in her husband's ancestral property. The direct property of her husband goes to her. In case she cannot be maintained at her husband's house, then her brothers look her after. It is clear thus from the above that, regarding widow re-marriage, both traditional rule of Kunbi society and influence of upper caste Hindus are found together. Today a few progressive, members of Kunbi society are encouraging widow re-marriage.

Thus study on widow re-marriage clearly reveals that the majority of the respondents 124 (62 %) are in favour of widow re-marriage. On the contrary, the remaining 76(38%) answered negatively. This indicates that more than 50 per cent of respondents have progressive attitude towards widow re-marriage. Out of those who approve 64 (51.61 %) of them said that there should be a provision for widow re-marriage for the livelihood of widows and their freedom. 33 (26.61%) of them said that the widows should be protected and 27 (21.77 %) are of the view that for the reformation of women, widow re-marriage should be encouraged and four respondents said that re-marriage gets rid of her sin.

On the contrary, the respondents who did not approve gave the following reasons: 35(46.05%) said that their traditional practices couldn't be discontinued whereas 35(46.05%) of them disapproved because their tribal council does not support widow re-marriage. Four respondents said

that it is against their religion and two of them said if widow get re-married, they would not enjoy respect in society.

CONCLUSION

The Kunbis maintain the status of women which can be observed at the time of religious rituals. Overall, some of the trends are indicative of disintegration of traditional Kunbi family organization. Though the general rule among the Kunbis is tribal endogamy, marriage between Kunbi sub-divisions is prohibited. Thus a system of sub-tribe endogamy is also observed. Monogamy is predominant among the Kunbis, while polygamy and polyandry are strictly prohibited. Bali exogamy and often village exogamy are observed among various sub-divisions. It is found that cross-cousin marriage and sorority are preferred for establishing marriage relationship. To select their mates, Kunbis practice various ways of marriages such as marriage arranged by parents (by settlement), marriage by purchase, marriage by test, and marriage by Hindu rites.

There is a change in some extent in the institution of marriage among the Kunbis while the basic matrimonial and certain preference like Bali exogamy, tribal and sub –tribe endogamy, sorority unions etc. continue. Though some of the traditional rites and customs have survived at some places, their marriage rituals have been greatly affected and modified by the modernization process. The study reveals that earlier Kunbis had a system of phratry called Hodbood, which was exogamous. However, the strict observance of both clan and phratry exogamy has been given up.

Marriage is not conducted without the payment of bride price. The bride price called Tera or Karalik or Hundo, is given to

the bride and bride's party in the form of money and articles. However, it is interesting to note that some gifts in the form agricultural and hunting implements are presented to the bridegroom by the father of the girl. The study shows that today, there no much difference in traditional rules of bride price have the amount of money and gift offered in the form of bride price has increased recently. Besides bride price, today, Kunbis have also adopted the system of dowry under the influence of caste Hindus. Though, the study on the attitude of Kunbis towards bride price and dowry shows that the majority of them favour the existing system of bride price, the system of dowry is gaining importance.

The Kunbis had more advanced views regarding the age of marriage for girls. But, the marriageable age for girls became lower later under the influence of upper caste Hindus. However, the data indicate a tendency towards increase in the age of marriage for girls. Today, the average age at marriage for girls in the opinion of respondents should be 21 years. In olden days, the marriage among Kunbis was quite simple. But, it has become complex with different types of complicated rites and rituals adopted from Hindus. Kunbis observe different preliminary and pacificator acts and rituals and a few rituals and a few rituals after the marriage. However, certain rituals acts such as giving oil bath to the bride and the bridegroom, planting a tree etc. are performed only as a formality or fun in these days.

The Brahmin priest is invited to officiate at the marriage ceremony. Dhare is an important ritual act performed in a Kunbi marriage today. They have adopted these practices from the upper caste Hindus. Due importance is given to Gaunkar and Raibari at Kunbi marriages. The sad ceremonial

songs sung by bride's women and close relatives at the customary act of sending the bride away with the groom's party may be described as 'weeping ritual'. The ritual acts associated with throwing or filling of rice and paddy symbolize the beginning of a householder, fertility, and prosperity.

Numerous tribal studies have shown that tribes have a liberal attitude towards sex. But, in our study, we found that the Kunbi bridal couple is expected to live separately without sex act for sometime after the marriage. It shows that tribes use to have considerable taboos on sex at their marriages. However, such traditional conjugal norms are not strictly observed today. The marriage ceremony among Kunbis mostly takes place during monsoon as large number of families depends heavily on casual unskilled labour and agricultural work. In olden days, widow remarriage was permitted among the Kunbis. But owing to Sanskritisation and Hinduisation process there are restrictions on widow remarriage now. Nevertheless, today, a few enlightened and progressive members of Kunbi society are encouraging widow remarriage. This, in their attitude indicates that, Kunbis today, are becoming more progressive.

The Kunbis practice a religion, which can be called animistic. Kunbis believe that some sort of supernatural elements and spiritual as well as magical power regulate their life. They believe in the presence of supernatural powers in crops, oven, place of cooking, hunting operations, seedlings, forest, earth, ancestral worship etc. Although, divorce is not normally permitted among the Kunbis, a few cases of divorce are reported in recent decades. Marriages between distant kin groups from distant places also take place although it was

prohibited by them earlier. It is observed that, at some places clan exogamy is not strictly observed as the younger generation has almost forgotten their clans. A few cases of inter-caste marriages were also found during the present study.

REFERENCES

Brown Radcliffe, A.R, The Andaman Islander, (A social Study, 1922).

Campbell, James M., 'Gazettee of the Bombay presidency' (Vol. I, Part II, History of the konkan, Dekhan and Southern Maratha country, Bombay, Govt. central press, 1896).

Gomes Olivino J.F, Village Goa (Astudy of Goan Social Structure and change),(S.Chanda & Co.,New Delhi,1987).

Maria, Lucy, An Introduction to social Antropology (Second Edition, Oxford, 1991).

Thurston, Edger,Caste and Tribes of South India,(Vol I to VII) (Madras Govt. Press, 1909).

Vidyarthi and Rai, B.K, The Tribal Culture of India, (Concept Publication, Delhi, 1977).

CHAPTER IV

RELIGIOUS ORGANISATION

The religion represents the relationship of man with supernatural powers. It is one of the earliest forms of human activity. It is expressed through a system of beliefs, rituals and worship, which are also important elements in all religions. "A religion is a unified system of beliefs and practices to sacred things"(Durkheim Emiles, 1912:169). The religious experience is the experience of the 'sacred' or holy. Out of the responses of men to religious or spiritual experiences, religious groups from and a religious institution develops, religious ideas are elaborated and religious practices are standardized. It could be noted here that Durkheim was the first writer to write on matter of primitive religion.

Tribal religion is regarded as the most primitive form of religion. It consists of worship of wild animals, trees, natural factors such as the sun , the moon ,rain mountain, rivers, faith in witchcraft, immortality of soul, ritualism etc. The 'religious' organization is the complex of institutionalized roles and procedures which regulate the relation of men with the supernatural order; however such an order may be conceived. Thus, tribal religion enters in almost all the aspects of life. Animism, totenism, taboo, magic and ancestor workshop are some of the markedly predominant features in the tribal

religious life. Animism is an important aspect of the primitive form of a religion followed by a majority of Indian tribes.

DEITIES WORSHIP AND PRACTICES: The head of the family worship the deity, who resides in the house. The Kunbis worship several male and female deities. They believe that their deities cause trouble to them and their livestock if their deities are annoyed. The important deities worshipped by all the members of the Kunbi today are Lord Mallikarjuna and Goddess Durga whom they call Goan deity. These deities reside in Goa and worship is offered to them every year, which clearly indicates the process of Hinduisation among the Kunbis. Faith in spirits is the most common sacred belief among Kunbis. They believe that, there is a presence of supernatural power in crop, place of cooking, hunting operations, seedlings, forest, earth, ancestral worship etc.

This phenomenon of Kunbi religion may be described as animism'. "Animism is the doctrine that inanimate objects as well as living beings are endowed with indwelling spirits of various kinds. The original religion of the tribal population in India is commonly characterized as animistic"(Fcuchs Stephen: 1973:65). Worship different deities, spirits and ghosts. They call spirits and ghosts Bhootas / Devcharas. The Bhootas /Devrcharas are often offered sacrifices through various acts of witchcraft in order to get rid of troubles and diseases. The ghosts or spirits are believed to be the soul of their deceased ancestors.

The important deities and spirits propitiated by Kunbis are as follows:

1] Beejalu Bhoota (power of spirit in seedlings),
2] Aduge Bhoota (spirit at places of cooking),
3] Padi Kudi Bhoota (spirit in rice),

4] Kempanna (a practice of hunting a wild pig is believed to be a worship offered to this deity- also called a God of Hunting,
5] Jalimi (a worship of the buffalo of the buffalo race' is believed to be a worship offered to this deity),
6] Siddadevaru,
7] Mallikar
8] Betedevaru (God of hunting)
9] Jogiboota
10] Ranamaru (gigantic spirit),
11] Ganas
12] Raanboot (forests deity).

These deities are worshipped by offering non-vegetarian food, particularly fish curry and rice or roti (rice bread).

13] Some of the Devchars are Appekar, Kottamgalkar, Bodgeshwer, and Payka Devchar. They are normally offered sur (coconut wine), Rot (made up of rice flour); even some times they are worshiped by offering animal sacrifices like cock and goat.

Besides, propitiating and worshiping their own personal deities and spirits, they have also adopted some spirit and ghosts from local Hindus. For example, Chavandi, Dengule Panjurli, Satyadevata, Jettiga, Mariyamma,Ammargudde, Raktheshwari, Kallukuttika, Yakshe, Jarandaya, Haiguli. (Nandikeshwara), Gadikaiboota, Gulige, Pilchendi which are recognized as the popular deities in the pantheon cult of Dakshina Kannada District. This indicates that the culture of Kunbis is influenced by the Bhoota worship of local Tulu culture.

Besides having faith in animism, the Kunbis also practice Hinduism by venerating Hindu mythological Gods like Rama, Krishana, Ishwara, Parvathi, Narasimha and other deities like goddess Kali, Lord venkateshwara of Tirupathi (very popular among Kodiyala Kunbis), Goddess Mhalasa of Goa, Siddeshwara of Kodachadri Hills, Kalabyra Mookambika of Kollur, Manjunatha of Dharmasthala, and deities of local village temples. The adoption of local spirits and Bhootas and worship of Hindu mythological and Sanskrit Gods and Goddesses indicate the process of Hinduisation and Sanskritisation among Kunbis.

The seat of the deity dwelling in the house of Kunbis, particularly the Gaunkar seats on a wooden frame. A coconut belonging to their ancestors ' up to three generations in the father's line and a lamp are kept near the wooden slab or frame and the head of the family or the Gaunkar offers worship to them regularly. Now-a days, a ceremony of waving arati' (a bell metal lamp) is also used for propitiating deities and different portraits of Hindus gods and goddesses are worshipped along with the own pantheon under the influence of Hinduisation. However, in general the portraits of Hindu god and goddesses are not kept in Gaunkar's house. A box is also kept near the deity into whom the cash coins are put whenever they suffer from any sickness or troubles. Later on, these coins are offered to their deity in Goa.

They also worship different trees and animals, which indicate dendrolatry and Zoolatry among Kunbis. The males among Goans Kunbis do lighting a lamp near the tulsi plant every evening. However, in other sub-divisions the women offer the worship to tulsi regularly showing sacred lamp. This practice also shows Hinduisation.

They also venerate Nagabana (sacred grove) with cobra idols installed in it. Such Nagabanas are found in every village in Dakshina Kannada District. Besides these deities, the study on the Kunbis clans named after Gods has revaluated a number of deities viz. Bettalakunte (a female Bettale deity), Devas, Jatkar (jettiga or Lord Shiva), Sirimanki (iddentified with Lord Narayana or Vishnu) Shivagan etc.

Almost every social and religious activity in Kunbis life is preceded by a series of rites and rituals. The various religious rites, rituals, festivals, customs, and traditions are practiced and regulated through wado under the leadership of the Gurikara / Gaunkar. The anti- social and anti- religious activities are properly checked by imposing certain specific sanctions and punishments. Religious rites, rituals, festivals, worship etc. are observed according to the instructions issued by the Gurikara/ Gaunkar.

In the traditional social structure, Kunbis do not plant tulsi or sacred basil in their houses though it is a widely cultivated and worshipped plant in India. But, it is planted on the courtyard of both the Gaunkar and the ancestral house. A tulsikatte (a square structure on which a tulsi plant is growing) is situated in the courtyard and worship is offered both by the Gaunkar and also worshipped in some Kunbi houses under the influence of Hinduisation.

Besides tulsi plants, many other plants and trees, their leaves and fruits are sacred and are venerated as totem. For instance, mango trees (Mangifera indica), the flower of Dog teak (Dillenia pentagyna), toarch tree (Ixora brachiata), Indian Wild Olive (olea dioice), areca nut (Area catechu), (Bombax

Ceiba), Alexandrian Laurel (Mammea Suria), plantain tree and so on. The flowers of aboli (unarmed orange nail dye) and ransurangi (toarch tree) are very important things offered to appease their deities. The branches and leaves of cotton and the leaves of Indian Oleander are very essential things at their worship. A seedling coconut is worshiped annually at tulsikatte. Some of the above plants and trees are used as clan totems while some other are worshipped at religious rituals, marriage rites etc. This practice indicates dendrolatry among the Kunbis.

Besides dendrolatry, a practice of zoolatry is also found among Kunbis. They worship certain wild animals. The figures of some animals such as tiger, elephant, cobra, camel, and lion are represented at Kunbi marriages in the form of paste made of rice flour and are venerated. Some animals are venerated in the form of animal totems. Rat, snake, wild, pig, peacock, a fish by name lesser loach, tiger, elephant, dog, rabbit, porcupine are some of the animals which are used in Kunbis clans named after plant and animal totems. Besides these animals, certain birds also are ritually important and sacred. For instance, the Indian paradise flycatcher (breeding terpiphone paradise) becomes important at the holy festival of the Kunbis. Kunbis venerate these birds as totems by wearing its feathers on the turban as part of dance costume while performing Holi dance. The birds are let free after plucking feathers from them since the feathers of these birds are considered sacred and killing them a taboo. These birds could be regard as totems to Kunbis. Among Kunbis, oven and ash collected in the oven are considered sacred. Most of the elderly members of every family apply ash in the forehead devoutly in the morning before they take the first meal of the day.

Oven is venerated and especial respect is shown to it on Holi festivities. A sacred lamp is kept near the oven before performing the Holi dance. Kunbis identify oven with their tribal deities. Oven and the place of cooking are so sacred that the fish and meat purchased from the market are not cooked inside but the fish are brought inside and cooked in the kitchen with the belief that it is a sacred act offered to God.

Hunting expedition is believed to be an important sacred act offered to God. Besides hunting expedition, the material used in hunting such as nest, sticks, spear etc. are also treated with sanctity. Hunting is preceded by a series of rites and rituals. They worship hunting implements for a good game before starting on the expedition. God of hunting is worshiped on some hilly area by offering five bananas, five flowers, and coconuts. Women in the course of their menstruation are required to keep away from the hunting implements. Hunting of wild pig is believed to be worship offered to Kemp Anna deity. Quarrelling over meat, chewing betel, and smoking is prohibited during hunting expeditions. Before they begin to distribute meat or honey collected from the forest, it has been their practice to offer a share of it to the God of hunting and other spirits believing that the gods would fail their hunting sprees if they do not offer their share.

PRIESTHOOD: The head of the family or the Gaunkar acts as priest. The Gaunkar has two assistants viz. Gadya and Raibari who help in the all-social and religious matters. Vaidya is an important religious person who acts as a witchdoctor, exorcise and astrologer for Kunbis. Vaidya has to lead a highly disciplined life. On occasions like Holi festival Gaunkar may act in the capacity of Gadya. However today, they are under the influence of Shringeri mutt in Karnataka as their spiritual

teacher. Halarimatta (Haluvarimatta) near Kamaleshill in Kundapura taluka is an important shrine for jogi Kunbis. The priest of this center visits their settlements quite regularly on the occasion of Shivarathri festival (worship of Lord Shiva) and distributes fruits and flowers to the people.

The role of the Kunbi priests is very important in Goa. They visit the Kunbi settlements and in Dakshina Kannada every year where they visit the Gaunkar's house and other nearby houses during the month of February or March or during Holi celebrations. This is done carrying on their head different deities, idols of popular Hindu gods and goddesses made of metal, such as Durga, Rama, and Mallikarjuna etc. where the priest is accompanied by his assistance. The floor of their houses is swept with cow dung water and the image is offered worship. After the worship, sweetened beaten rice is distributed to all. It could be said that the affinity and emotional bonds are still alive between Kunbis of Dakshina Kannada and Goa for certain reason, for instance whenever a resultant new wado is formed due to conflicts or rifts within the people the prasada of Goan deity is brought and distributed to new members of the hitherto wado.Very rare to see to animal sacrifices amongst the Kunbis since they do not eat the flesh of the animals reared in the household, and even if they kill animals on some special occasion they give away the slaughtered animal to the neighboring lower- caste Hindu people. All the same, Mari (Goddess of cholera and small Pox) is propitiated with bloody animal sacrifices amongst Jogi and Are Kunbis. Mari is the most common female deity worshiped all over South India. The practice of offering fowl and coconut is common among Jogi Kunbis for getting rid of evils during shifting cultivation operation. They also sacrifice goat and fowl in the name of Lord Siddeshwara of Kodachadri Hills

(Kundapur taluka). However, coconut is quite commonly offered in almost all sacrificial matters amongst the Kudubis.

ANCESTRAL WORKSHIP: It be regarded as an important form of animism, it forms an integral part of Kunbi religion and their religious belief. Being afraid of the spirits of the dead they feel they are protected through the worship to the deceased. These ancestral spirits are invoked (called Kandi, Kule or Jakkani) and worshipped annually or once in two years in some parts. The death anniversary is very well marked and is called Mala karya, which is the corrupt form of Mahal. After taking bath and cleaning the house the cooked rice and dishes are offered to dead ancestors. They keep cooked rice and water outside the house after offering some share to the cows. Three months after death, the dead ancestors are invoked back to the house with an offering of two coconuts to their deities.

MAGIC AND SUPERSTITIONS: In this respect they believe that evil spirits may harm them, if they are offended and deprived of the offerings due to them. The Gadyas also called Gadiga who act as magicians, witchdoctors, diviners, soothsayers and herbal medicine men are consulted on such occasions.

"The belief in the magical practices is a common feature amongst the Indian tribes"(Vidyarthi and Rai: 1977:244). "They are ignorant of the true laws of nature and the cosmic order; the tribes have developed a largely magical world outlook. They believe that the whole world and every individual life are mainly governed and directed by superhuman powers, personal and impersonal. They are convinced that they can effectively influence these superhuman powers by means of magic or sorcery" (Fuchs Stephen: 1973: 68). "The fearful or evil

spirits find significant place in tribal religion. The tribes conceive them as bizarre and attribute death, sickness, and misfortune to them. On occasions such spirits become friendly with certain mortals who use them as aid. Priests and Shamans derive strength from them. In the absence of a good deal of scientific knowledge of human physiology, the tribes, by and large yoke supernatural beings responsible for diseases and epidemics" (Mann, R.S:1984:262). The tribal people mostly believe in evil sprit or the herbal medicine for sickness.

The Ghadvas are consulted by the Kunbis to discover, to guard against, to terminate evil power or spirit when someone fallen sick, is struck with misfortune, or meets with an accident or dies. Before hunting expeditions, it has been their practice to consult their Ghadvas to find out whether they would find animals for hunting and return safely. Also, as believed by the Kunbis, the Ghadvas play an important role in establishing contacts between those who died recently and the ones who died long ago.

The Ghadi has his own certain methods in the practice of magic. He has diverse approaches like finding the will of the deity, causes of misfortunes, and the trouble using both black and white magic. He traces out the nature of the problem, the desire of the deity, identifies the particular spirit that has caused the trouble and settles over the kind of offerings to be made for calling back the power of evil spirit. The Ghadi starts his duty with a prayer chanting a special verse called Gadnan in a tone that is monotonous while turning the head quickly round for about 15 or 30 minutes. At the beginning and the closing of this act the Goan deity, the village deities, and all other prominent ones are praised and venerated. The Gadva shows his skills cutting a single grain of rice in twain with a big knife.

He counts shells repeatedly. The misfortune due to an evil deity is confirmed if he gets an even numbers. He uses the plume of peacock at his magical act. It is at this act that the clients take for granted that the evil spirit has taken has hold of the Gadya and it speaks through him now.

Kunbis seem to have firmly believed that the troubles, misfortune, or sicknesses are caused by black magic and it ought to be counteracted with white magic or exorcism through the Gadya. The whole process of the magical act is termed as Nat in Kunbi dialect. There are fair chances that an affected individual might go to an oracle in case the magical act of the Gadya dose not succeed.

The age-old superstition bound life of the Kunbis is reflected through different activities of theirs. For instance, spirit worship is very commonly found. They believe that the wound, disease are caused by evil- spirits; they believe that the hunted meat ought not to be sold, chewing betel or smoking, quarrelling over meat are prohibited lest the expedition should flop. Similarly, the liver of the wild pig caught in hunting is dried and preserved in a bamboo reed till the next Holi festival. It is venerated and eaten up on Holi. Also, strangely, the Kunbis make it is a practice to consult a Gadya when tripped or pierced by a thorn in the bush. Frequent quarrelling in the house is loathed, as they believe that they invite trouble from evil spirits. Omens, good, and bad have a fair share in their lifestyles.

TOTEMISM: The totemic symbols are sacred and refer to the social solidarity of members of a clan. He recognized totemism as the religion of the entire tribal society comprising the division of sacred and profane. The totem of Kunbis is an

animal, a plant or tree or any other inanimate object. They hold these clan totems sacred. It is an important institution of tribal society. The religion of Kunbis tribe is well marked by the characteristic of totemism. "Totemism believe that a mystical relationship exists between a group of human beings who make up a kinship unit and a species of plant or animal or less commonly, some natural phenomenon" (Herskovits,M.J: 1974:175). Durkheim, while examining the relation of totemism (1912) noted that totem is the emblem of a group or a society. The study on Kunbi clan organization revealed that a large number of clans are totemistic. Out of hundred and fourteen clan, 54 clans appeared to be totemistic. Clan totems include animal totems, plant totems, individual totems, clan deity and those of other inanimate totems is another significant element of Kunbi clan organization. However, next to inanimate totems, the predominance of animal totems can also be observed. The animal totems among Kunbis include the names of animals, birds, reptiles and fish such as: snake, tiger fish, wild pig, dog, elephant etc.

The plant totems include the names of certain flowers, fruits, vegetable, trees, and their products such as cashew, mango, pumpkin etc. Basket, husk hair, comb, grass hood etc. prevail as inanimate totems. Besides, the figures of some animals such as elephant, tiger, camel etc venerated at Kunbi marriages. These animals are represented in the form of a paste made of rice. Durkheim observed that the plants and animals were suitable emblems of totems because they could be shown pictorially in ritual (1912). Disturbing or hunting the rat snake, killing birds such as peacock, Indian Paradise flycatcher, and large racket tailed Drongo is a taboo. The feathers of the peacock are worshipped during Holi among Jogi Kunbis. During Holi festival rabbit is killed and eaten as totem feast.

Various plant or tree totems found among Kunbis are not only venerated, but used either for medicinal purpose or as an essential ingredient at religious rites and rituals. It is observed that the Kunbi totemism is matrilineal. The membership of totem is inherited in the male or paternal. In other words, the ancestry or descent is recognized in the male line and the children belong to father's clan totem. The relation between the totem and the respective clan is understood as a kind of kinship. Thus, the exogamy of the clans is strictly enforced among the Kunbis.

RITUALS AND FESTIVALS: Every religion practices the rituals, and the belief. Kunbis observe different types of pre-natal and childhood rituals which are almost similar to the ritual of first pregnancy, birth rituals such as, and childbirth, naming ceremony, ear piercing and the death ritual. Among Kodiyal Kunbis, when a girl comes of age and has her first menstruation, it is her mother and her elder sister who give her a ceremonial oil bath. Some people arrange the ritual of ceremonial oil bath outside the premises of the village temple. Some well-to-do Kunbi families invite relatives and a feast served to them. This rite is called Nhane'. The girl is separated for three or five days due to pollution caused by menstruation. On third or the fifth day, after the bath, they attain ritual purity.

However, this rite is not observed in other sub-divisions. These rites are a clear indication of Sanskritisation. A pregnancy ritual is also observed similar to that of caste Hindus. It is called Seemantha among Kodiyala Kudubis and Bayake among Jogi Kunbis. The ritual is observed at the husband's house. The dishes prepared at her parent's house are served at her husband's house. Usually, nine types of dishes are prepared and served to the expecting mother. She wears a

new sari and is decorated five types of flowers. A pregnant woman is not expected to visit the temple seventh month onwards. This rite is usually observed at both the families. The first confinement of women does not take place in her natal house, but in her husband's house. The birth of a child puts the family in a state of ritual pollution. Earlier, the ritual pollution is used to end of sixth day, but today it has been extended to eleventh day under the influence of Sanskritition. On the seventh day, guests are invited and feast is served which they call Daval. On the sixth day a rite called sati is observed by a women-folk. A few old women perform a dance called pugudi holding metal pots. After 40 days, the mother with her infant visits local temple as a part of ritual purification ceremony.

If the child is male, boiled bangali gram with sugar is distributed and if the child is female, boiled horse gram is distributed with sugar. Like many tribes of India, Kunbis perform the naming ceremony on the ninth or the eleventh day. Some people even name the child when it attains third month. Members of Kunbis go to a Brahmin priest to get the first letter to be used for the name of the child and then the child is named by a Brahmin priest according to Panchanga. "A sanskritising agent and a more a tribe, local group or caste resorts to astrology the more do its beliefs become sankritised. Sanskritic Hinduism which transcends provincial barriers and is common to the whole of India" (Shrinivas M.N.: 1978:75).

It is believed by them that death visits people due to the wrath of evil spirits or ancestral spirits like those of the other tribes. As soon as death occurs in a house the information of death is passed onto the Gaunkar and other clansmen and intimates. The Gaunkar is invited to participate in the funeral rite. However, the Gaunkar attends when he feels free or he

orders them to carry on. A coconut -lit lamp is placed overhead and at his or her feet. The widow of the dead man has to remove all her jewellery like a Hindu widow. The corpse is given a bath and wrapped up with a full banana leaf, a mat, and a new white cloth. Among Kodiyala Kunbis, the head of the corpse is covered with a toran. The body is laid on a wooden ladder, which is made of bamboo and taken out of the house. If the deceased has sons, they are expected to carry the dead body. All of them take bath and have gruel together after the funeral ceremony. In the absence of sons, the relatives of the deceased carry the corpse.

Among Kodiyala Kunbis, before the pyre is set on fire a living frigs is tied to it and, rice, betel leaves and nuts and certain favorite items of the deceased are offered. The son cries out three times 'Father/mother comes home'. The dead is buried after death irrespective of gender. The burial of the dead had been the general custom of the Kunbis in the past. However, in recent decades cremation is also introduced. This change in the mode of the disposal of the corpse may be ascribed to Hindu influence. The death rites and ceremonies are becoming more Sanskritic these days. The dead among Kunbis is buried in a sitting and no ceremonies are performed for the deceased except the distribution of the rice to a few Brahmins. The dead among the Are Kunbis are either cremated or buried. On the eleventh day, the near ones of the dead feel purged of pollution after taking a ceremonial.

"The dead are buried in a sitting posture with the legs crossed. Before the grave is filled in, a small quantity of cooked rice is put in to the month of the corpse. The final death ceremonies consisting of a sprinkling of holy water, giving presents to Brahmins are held on the eleventh day and on the twelfth day a feast is served" (Thurston Edger:1909:102).

However, today the dead body is not seated in the cross-legged posture except among Are and Jogi sub-divisions. The mode of sitting a posture is also found among Irula tribes and Jogi of Bhil and Mina tribes and Jogi tribes of Rajasthan.

In the present day society, though Kunbis have started practicing cremation, they do not cremate all the dead. The dead bodies of the victims of leprosy and epidemics like small pox are buried. The small pox is believed to be mother deity and therefore, those dying of small pox are not cremated for the fear that the disease might appear again if people dying with small pox are cremated. Similarly, the dead bodies having black scars are also not cremated assuming that the scars have affinity to a cobra. Besides, a woman who dies after giving birth to a baby, those dying consuming excessive liquor between Jogi and Are Kunbis are also buried.

However, the poor among the Kunbis is buried even today as the economical way of disposal. Thus, we find that Kunbis practice burial or cremation of the moral remains without causing much delay unlike some other tribes. On the third morning after cremation a tulsi plant is planted at the cremation ground. A little rice is offered with water to the dead in a banana leaf. Later, the son offers a tender coconut to the deceased. It is the belief of the people that the son sends his deceased to heaven. The adults do not shave for seven to nine days. On the seventh or the ninth day, the beard is shaved off by a barber. A death in the family also brings ritual pollution. A general morning in the family follows for 10 days. Symbolically a tumbler of water is kept and a light is lit at home in the name of the deceased. On the 11th day, purifactory rite is performed, and with the serving of the funeral feast to the near relatives, the mourning is withdrawn

on this day. It is assumed that the deceased person has joined the earlier dead ancestors. One of the relatives who carry the dead body is expected to observe ritual pollution strictly for 10 days. Among Kodiyala Kunbis, at some places, a Brahmin priest is invited on the 11th or 12th day after the purfication to officiate at homa.

The Ghadi is consulted on the occasion and he explains the cause of death and its consequences through magical acts. Brahmin astrologers are also consulted in order to ascertain whether the time of death is good or bad. As they have a strong faith in their departed ancestors, the dead ancestors are revoked and worshipped once in a year, which they call Porob or Jakani. The Porob, a festival in Konkani language, in this context means a worship of the dead or festival offered to the dead. Now days, as a part of the ritual Brahmin priests are invited and cobra is worshipped through a Brahmin priest by offering a coconut, or seer of rice, areca nut and betel leaves, particularly among Goa and Kodiyala sub-divisions which indicates the process of Sanskritisation.

FESTIVALS: The major festivals of Kunbis are either associated with agriculture or worship of deities or beliefs. They play an important role in the religious life of the Kunbis. Various rites, rituals, dances and festivals observed collectively bring unity and solidarity in Kunbi society. Most of the festivals celebrated by Hindus are celebrated by the Kunbis also. But the manner and purpose of celebration of these festivals are slightly different among Kunbis. The prominent among them are Holi, Vanabhojana, Yugad. Of all these festivals Holi is of prime importance. The other festivals generally celebrated by them include Nagara Panchami, Noola Hunnime, Deepavali, Tulsi festival, Raksha Bandhan is also

celebrated these days, by a few Kunbi members who are influenced by the Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sanga (RSS-a National Volunteer Organization). This indicates that the religion and festival of Kunbi are very much influenced by the Hindu religion and festivals.

They celebrate tulsi festival and after eight or ten days they celebrate Vanabhojana. It is an important religious festival celebrated with much zeal amongst the Kodiyala Kudubis. It is celebrated at a few places in Karkala and Mangalore taluka. This festival is performed in the name of Mother Deity offering rice, coconut, and money collected from different households. With this festival in view, a collected hunting is organized and the flesh of the animals hunted during the expedition is dried and used on this occasion of the festival. The festival celebrated in the paddy fields or nearby hilly areas is attended by men, women, and children. Both vegetarian and non-vegetarian dishes are cooked by women and served. An oracle is carried out by a Gadya to determine the will of deity and to verify if there is a lapse in the mode of worship offered to deity. Perhaps, an error is confirmed, it is counteracted through exorcism.

Ashada festival (also called Atiamavasye), is another festival celebrated in the month of July. Women are expected to take a full bath on this day and prepare a dish out of tero (Colocasia esculenta) brought from the forest by the men folk. Shivarathri is another festival celebrated by Kunbis in February- March. Kamadahana is observed through burning the stems of Indian Wild Olive at this festival. The period from the first day till the end of Holi is considered important and referred to as Sigmostav.

Yugadi festival, being most popular among the Kodiyala Kunbis is another important festival, celebrated in March-April. The main feature of this particular festival is Kajjaya to be offered to the deity. This practice is referred to as Poovachapu Mandar, meaning worship of beaten rice at Gaunkar place. All the members of the wado are expected to - participate in this festival celebrated in the front yard of the Gaunkar's house offering Ghummat and coconuts, five each at tulsi plant. The spirits, deities, ancestors and the family deities are served Kajjaya over a banana leaf outside the house.

The head of the family pour the Milk over the idols of Cobra deity during the Nagapanchami held in July –August (tithi called Nagpanchami). On Ati- amavasye, newly married couple is expected to taking dip in the sea and observe fasting. Fasting is observed on Krishna-janmasthami also. However, Goa Kunbis do not observe fast on Krishna janmasthami festival owing to some religious beliefs based on legends. The other important festival is Deepavali, during which tulsi plant is decorated with different flowers and fruits of gooseberry as done by the Hindus. The cows are decorated with colours and flowers, cooked food is offered to them. Earlier, tulsi festival was celebrated at the Gaunkar's house, but today in some places, it is celebrated at any house within the Kutumb.

Nayapanchami is an important festival associated with agriculture. New corn or rice is eaten on this festival like Hindus do. A youth (Vatechedo) of marriageable age, belonging to their clan is invited and is offered feast before it is served to other members of the family. It could be said that although many of these festivals are borrowed from Hindus, they are celebrated in a manner quite different from that of the Hindus. However, the festivals of Ganeshchathurthi (Chowthi),

Durgapuja (Navarathri) are not popular among Kunbis. The worship of Lord Ganesh has almost become a taboo due to beliefs based on legends.

HOLI FESTIVAL-FOLK MUSIC & DANCE: Different festivals celebrated by the Kunbis of Karnataka and also the aborigine tribes of Goa. But, Holi is the most important festival celebrated with much vigour and zeal. The preparation for Holi celebration is decided on Shivarathri festival. It is mainly celebrated for the worship of mother deity, or Goan-Amma. In some regions, along with the mother- deity, Lord Mallikarjuna of Goa is also venerated. Holi is a spring festival of Hindus, celebrated every year in all parts of India on the full moon day during the month of phalgun (February- March). It is also know by the name Kama Dahana in south India. However, Holi celebrated among Kunbis is not borrowed version of Hindus celebration. Kunbis have their own way of observing Holi festival. Splashing liquid colours, throwing colour powder at someone (that's how it is done everywhere in India) is not practiced among them. Among Kunbis, Holi celebrations start five day before the actual day of Holi festival. However, it is modified among different sub-divisions at some places.

Among Kodiyala Kunbis, in certain places it starts after the actual day of Holi and ends, generally on the fifth day. The period of the celebrations also various from one tribal council to another, from region to region, ranging from three to five days, wherein number of days selected is an odd number most preferably. Holi among Kunbis is essentially a community festival. The members of every wado gather at Gaunkar's house and dance collectively. They are known for the variety of dances. Holi being an important festival is linked with three

types of special dances and hundreds of folk songs. Ghummat, Tonio and Dorinach are the three prominent dances performed on this occasion. These folk dances and songs are regarded sacred. Kunbis are found dancing and singing day and night during Holi festival. During these dances women remain passive observers but they participate actively, in singing songs during weddings. These folk dances of Kunbi are commonly called mela (troupe), or khel (a folk play) or Sigmo (festival).

MUSICAL INSTRUMENT: Amongst the different musical instruments used by the Kunbis Ghummat has the important place in all there instrument. Ghummat dance derives its name from a musical instrument used on the occasion. Ghummat is an earthen pot drum, which is used as the main musical instrument for all dance forms. The drum is the main and commonly found musical instrument in the tribal areas. Kunbis themselves make the musical instrument out of the pot made by the traditional pot-maker in different sizes. Both the size of the pot are open and one side of the pot is covered with the skin of Monitor Lizard (Varamus monitor), hunted by Kunbis men folk. The skin is tightened, stretched, and pasted on the pot with tembra, a gum taken from glue tree or 'wild mangosteem' (Diospyros peregrine). The hollow and the skin-covered side of the drum are played with both hands. The *Ghummat* is the most common musical instrument used by all the sub-divisions except Jogi and Are Kunbis. Jogi and Are Kunbis use the drum called Maddale (a variant of the South Indian Mrudanga. which is a common musical instrument used in Yakshgana and Karnatic music. The other musical instruments used are brass cymbals and Jagate/Kasale (bronze discs). The Ghummat sticks. poles and other dancing materials are packed and preserved in attic in the

Gaunkar's house. The costumes, the plumes (part of dance costumes) are preserved in an earthen pot for use next year. These materials and instruments are used only during Holi festival. A group sings the songs and people and the dancers dance in accordance with the rhythmic beats of Ghummat, which is hung from their necks. Two people called Kol Gaunkar in the group start the song. Generally, the Ghummat dance consists of a group of five people whom three dancers are found in the front row and the remaining in the back row singing with the cymbals rhythmically. Both singers and dancers move forwards and backwards according to the tune and rhythm. The Dancers bend their legs and heels alternatively. There are a variety of subtle movements in Kunbis dances. The festival starts with different religious rights like worshiping coconut, banana fruits at tulsi structure, applying vermilion, offering worship at the village temple and the like. Tulsi structure is beautifully decorated with flowers. Sowing a speed of coconut at tulsi structure symbolizes growth and prosperity. The musical instruments like Ghummat, sticks are kept at tulsi structure and worshipped by the Gaunkar.

One more dance which is performed by them is Toni (or tonio – stick dance) It is an important heroic circular dance performed by Kudubis by beating sticks. The stick is held and played with hand. In Toni an oil lamp is kept at the centre of the circle formed by dancers. Sticks are made by Kunbis themselves out of the stems of toarch tree (Ixora brachiata).

The Goff or Dorinach is a Circular rope dance performed by them in which seven, nine or twelve ropes (usually nylon ones) are tied to the top of pillar (approximately 20 ft. height). Each dancer plays with sticks holding a rope. And, in the circular dance, all the ropes are plaited or interwoven by the dancers.

The ropes are formed into braid in process of rhythmic dance and music for which it is also called Pagadapashe Kel or patticho Kel- meaning 'plaiting dance'. Because the ropes are to be plaited and timed accurately, it is a complicated dance. Today it is performed at permude (near bajpe in Mangalore Taluka) and Canacona in Goa. It is now found very rarely.

Kunbi men of each wado start practicing dance regularly, late in the evening involving children at their Gaunkar's house, one or two months before the actual Holi festival. It is arranged in a plain area erecting a few bamboo poles in circle depending upon the number of the participants. Learning or practicing dance of this type is called Keles or kelsik. In the process of Keles, children are thought every year these dance forms and socialized. It is an important aspect of Kunbi socialization or cultural learning. Their religious practices, art, culture, and identity are preserved and transmitted from generation to generation.

DANCE COSTUMES: The Men basically wear a unique type of traditional dress with a turban decorated with nail dye, which forms a part of dancing costume at the time of holi. The feather of the Indian paradise Flycatcher, called Karmani (Red Brown) and Maddani (white) (Terspiphone Paradise Paradise (Breeding and non-breding) and the Large Rocket-tailed Drongo called *Karangol* (Black) (Discrurus paradiseus Paradise) are worn as a costume on their turban.

If these feathers are not available, then the peacock feathers (Paro cristatus) are used. All the same, children wear the feather of peacock; Jogi and Are Kunbis also wear a plume consisting of feathers of a peacock on their turbans. Costume also consists of necklace designed of different vegetables,

auspicious necklaces of married women, ear-stud, and anklets. A jubba (a close-necked coat, also called Guru Coat) serves as the upper garment and the sari of their wives serves as the lower garment. The 'Kunbi Holi dress represents the half woman (Aradhanari). The headdress represents the male (purusha) element and the body dress represents female (Stree) element'. The sari of their wives symbolizes mother deity. Among Kodiyala Kunbis at some places like mainderi, Marakada (Karkala Taluka) and Permude (Mangalore Taluka), a young man dressed like a woman participates in Holi dance as a representative of mother deity. Other men wear long skirts on the lower part of their body.

GHARA KELAP: The Gaunkar plays the important role in this respect. On the first day, after performing dance at Gaunkar house and at the village temple, they go on dance tours performing holi dance. In holi dance touring, they visit the houses and shops of some prominent person of the village, which shows their nomadic element. The dancers are welcomed and offered coconut, jaggery, rice, and money as a reward. During the five-day festival, members of the dance group are expected to abstain from sex. They do not take off dance costumes and attire and they do not take bath. Non-vegetarian food and alcohol are strictly prohibited and they are expected to stay at the house of their clansmen. However, between kodiyala and other sub- division, dance performers take off their dress in the night and take bath everyday.

DIFFERENT DANCE FORMS AMONG KUDUBIS /KUNBIS

Kunbi Ghumat dance has several forms, which may be summarized as follows:

1) Krishnath Olar is a fast rhythmic song & dance, addressed to Lord Krishna generally Performed at the commencement of the Holi dance.
2) Molegane is a slow rhythmic song and dance in which God's creation is the main content.
3) Nomon is a slow, rhythmic song and dance which gives description about Goddess Earth.
4) Udthe is a very fast, rhythmic dance.
5) Ramayananenche Gane is another type of dance which involves slow steps. The song Portrays the stories from the Ramayana (Ramayana is great epic of the Hindus). The Stories from the Ramayana are interpreted in their own style. This song is used both, While playing Ghummat and Toni.

Apart from these songs and dance forms, there are other types, which are often performed in the midst of main dances. They are:

1) Ram-seetha is another type of dance in which the dancers dance in the front row with front with forward movements.
2) Samdiga is a fast circular dance.
3) Tengin is performed in fast rhythms for a very short spell.

In such short dances, the songs usually are related to God, rituals, sex, mythology, river water, innate character of rat and rabbit. Nomon form serves as an auspicious closing dance in every Kunbi dance. Like Ghummat', 'Toni' (stick dance) includes the following patterns. To start with, Toni, the Nomon is formed and all the deities are remembered. However, it is played mainly for the propitiation of mother Goddess.

It is followed by Mandtale, in which they perform Kolpada, which contains local Tulu and Kannada songs. Kole (fast rhythm type), Yekagodachi (couple dance or pair within the group), Cherianchaga (very dynamic and complicated slow

dance involving cycle of movements around four dancers in the group), Pansangacha (cycle of movements around five dancers of the group). Pansangacha includes several sub types viz.

1) Patlepudle, (circular dance).
2) Kazhapatar Ballaya Sokarya, (fast rhythm dance reflecting cashew leaves).
3) Garjnare, (a fast rhythm dance).
4) Kalikambolu Guruknath, (a fast rhythm dance believed to be related to tiger).
5) Kole, type of dance is again repeated at the closing of Toni.

Each dance form has its own specific song sung in Kunbi dialect where there are hundreds of devotional songs related to the stories from Ramayana. Ujapod, a sacred mystical verse or hymn in the Kunbi dialect is chanted at the end of their dances by a man belonging to their clan who is specially designated for this purpose. Ujapod literally means a fire or flame-like verse, here in this context it may be presumed that it is a spirited verse igniting volatile emotions. It depicts the origin and development of their sect; evolution or creations of animals; Knowledge and in formation of hunting; of musical instruments and dance forms like Gummat, Toni and the like. The Gaunkar, the Ghadi, and other responsible persons usually perform oracle at dance as the representation of spirits. At Kuttaru Krishnkodi (Mangalore Taluka.) settlement three responsible persons perform oracles representing Jogi Bhoota, Mandevaru and Marakallada.

They walk on fire as a purificatory act testing their power, morality, and potentiality. Jogi Bhoota might be the spirit of the deceased Gadyas or some religious priest. At the close of the festival, a vegetarian feast is served to all. On the

next day it is necessary to have feast of the flesh of rabbit, which they have hunted down. Kunbis believe that the flesh and blood of rabbit are considered sacred on this day, thus observing totem feast. They also nurture a belief that they incur the wrath of evil spirits if they don't organize hunting expedition after Holy. It is observed that a variety of folk songs of Kunbis today have the essence of Ramayana in the form of stories. In addition, certain forms and patterns of dance of the Kunbi also symbolize the stories of Ramayana. They also worship Lord Mallikarjuna of God and Lord Venkataramana of Tirupati. In the recent days, Kunbis have also started worshiping the deities of the village temples. Flowers and fruits are offered to these temples like Hindus do. Some of the prominent deities of pilgrim centers of Dakshina Kannada (e.g. Manjunatha temple of Dharmasthala) have become very popular among Kunbis today. The use of bell metal, use of arathi or ceremony of waving light etc. appear to be due to the influence of Hinduisation and Sanskritisation.

They are also found offering contributions in the form of money to the local village of temples for the celebration of temple annual festival. It is observed that Are and Jogi Kunbis celebrate Holi festival for the propitiation of the local temple deity Lord Siddeshwara of Kodachadri Hills (Kundapur Taluka). However, it is to be noted that some orthodox and conservative Kunbis, do not consider the village temple to be so important even today and worship is not offered to these deities. Worship of Tulsi and installation of tulsikatte in the courtyard of Kunbi house is recent phenomenon. It is a clear indication of Hinduisation. However, worship of tulsi is found only among those who are more Hinduised. As regards festivals, they celebrate almost all popular festivals celebrated by Hindus. Brahmin priest are commonly found at almost all

rites and festival celebrated by Kunbis which indicates the process of Sanskritisation. The rituals and festivals observed collectively among Kunbis symbolize their emotional attachment with the spirits and deities. They also symbolize the religious feelings and bring unity and solidarity in Kunbi society.

In spite of all these changes, it is important to note that the more Hinduised section among Kodiyala and Goan Kunbis today have constructed their own temples at different places in the district similar to those of caste Hindus. Apart from the construction of temples, a few Bhajana Mandirs (Centres of Mass worship), have also been established by Kunbis at some settlements such as, Sameelapadav and Kindel in Mangalore taluka and poomavara in karkala taluka. A Bhajana mandir is a religious centre meant for community singing of hymns or devotional songs. In Dakshina Kannada District, such Bhajana Mandirs are very popular among non-Bhrahmin castes. Bhrahmin priest are appointed by the Kunbis at a few Kunbi temples and worship is offered by them every day. In some temples Kunbis officiate as priests and worship the temple deity. These trends clearly indicate the process of Sanskritisation and Hinduisation among Kunbis.

Table : 4.1 Temples of Kunbis

Name of the Deity /Temple	Village	Taluka
1. Kelbai Satteri (motherDeity)	Curti	Ponda
2. Mallikarjuna (Lord Shiva)	Shri Sthal	Canacona
3. Somnath (Lord Shiva)	Kompadav	Mangalore
4. Mallikarjuna (Lord Shiva)	Yedthady	Udupi
5. Bramhadurga (motherdeity)	Paz	Ponda
6. Bhagavati (motherDeity)	Panchawdi	Ponda
7. Navdurga (mother Deity)	Madkai	Ponda

The performance of various magical acts and oracles among Kunbis is declining and they have forgotten many of their clan totems and do not follow these clan totems strictly. Though Holi is the most important festival for Kunbis, the jati Kunbis the Ex-communicated sections of Kunbi society are not expected to celebrate Holi festival and perform Holi dance. Similarly, Nada Kunbis seem to have forgotten the celebration of Holi and dance forms. Are Kudubis today do not perform Toni. Dorinach, one of the important dance forms of Kunbis is almost in the process of extinction. The taboos to be observed on Holi touring are not strictly adhered today. At some places, Holi festival is celebrated like a public affair, with the place colorfully lit with electric illuminations, announcements blaring on the mike and pre-recorded devotional songs are heard. Printed invitations are also used to invite relatives and villagers, seating arrangements are made, hiring chairs and furniture from outside. Musicians from pipers' community (musicians by caste) are also invited while performing oracles.

At Kuttaru (Mangalore Taluka.) performers participate in the dance even without traditional attires on. They justify such practice with the plea that traditional Holi dress is a taboo at the place of their original settlement (called Adisal). However, the non-tribes in the village say that traditional dresses were worn by men earlier at Holi dance. Moreover, in general it could be inferred that at the time just when the dances originated there was hardly any possibility of wearing colorful dresses amongst the tribes. At Kuttaru, the presence of a local headman of the village Bhootastana (seat of evil deity or spirits) belonging to Bunt caste is very important at Holi festival. This has resulted in the transfer some power of the Gurikara to the local Bunt headman.

Women at their periods (menstruation) are considered to be impure and are denied participation in the Holi festival. So also, windows are denied participation, as they are less privileged. This practice is found among the upper caste Hindus too. Tulu and Kannada devotional and patriotic songs are also sung at Holi dance. Some dancers and even the persons performing oracles are found smoking beedies in the midst of Holi celebrations.

One of the reasons for variations in the performance of Holi dance and celebrations is that the Gaunkar of each wado wants to be distinguished from others. It is also observed that certain items of Kunbi dress are influenced by the dress form of local Yakshagana (a popular folk theatre of Coastal Karnataka), for instance, the shoulder designs used among Goa Kunbis and half-sleeve shirts and their designs resemble the costumes of Badagutittu (the northern school of Yakshagana) and Thenkutittu (Southern school of Yakshagana) respectively. Besides, some of them have given up their traditional old costumes. Instead, modern Jubba (a Guru shirt), socks etc. are worn violating traditional rules. These days dances are also performed outside the village occasionally, using their traditional musical instruments which were customarily used hitherto only during Holi. Recently an organization of Kunbi dance and music has also been established at Yedapadav by a few enlightened young men of Kunbi society. This organization stages all the three varieties on dance of public platforms upon invitation, which is against the traditional norms.

The following questions were asked to find out the respondents' attitudes towards issues like the participation of children in religious practices and continuing religious

practices and family traditions such as dance rituals etc. As many as 198 (99%) of the respondents answered the question in the affirmative which shows that they want their children to be religious-minded, participate in religious practices and rituals and continue the same in the future, and two respondents could not give any specific answers.

Then reasons for desiring their children to continue religious practices and traditions were ascertained. Out of the 198 (99%) respondents 87 (43.9%) opine that religious practices and traditions are important in order to maintain tribal identity, and 95 (47.97%) respondents believe that they would be troubled by evil spirits if their traditional practices were not observed. But 10(5.05%) respondents opined that for the reasons of tribal socialization and cultural learning, the various religious practices and traditions should be continued, and six respondents hold the view that it carries status and respect in the society.

Regarding youths' religious inclination, the majority i.e. 146 (73.73%) answered the question in the affirmative which means the young generation. Among the Kunbis are becoming less religiously inclined whereas the remaining 54 (27.27%) respondents have a negative answer i.e. their youths continue to be religiously inclined.

The study of religious Organisation of Kunbis clearly shows that their various rites and rituals are undergoing a change. Collective singing and dancing are also gradually declining. Their religious practices, totemism, dance forms, festivals etc., are also in the process of transformation under the influence of Sanskritisation, Hinduisation and modernization processes.

CONCLUSION

Kunbis worship different deities, spirits, and ghosts (bhootas). It is observed that, besides propitiating and venerating their own personal deities and spirits, they have also adopted some spirits; ghosts and minor deities from local Hindus. Here we perceive the influence of local bhoota worship of Tulu culture on Kunbis. Apart from having faith in animism, Kunbis also practice Hinduism were as some Kunbis of Goa practice Christianity by venerating and worshipping Gods and Goddesses. Among Kunbis, a hierarchy of deities can be constructed in the following manner. For them goddess 'Durga' or mother deity of Goa is the holiest deity and the Goan Lord Mallikarjuna, the deity worshipped at Gaunkar's house, the deity kept in their respective houses constitute second, third and fourth holiest deities respectively. (The holy places of these deities are also assessed accordingly by the Kunbis) This can be explained in terms of theometry (a measurement of gods and goddesses) and Kshetrometry (a measurement of sacred or holy places) as propounded by K B Dabade (1998). Mythological gods and goddesses local gods and regional popular gods occupy the next places in the hierarchy of deities.

It is observed that worship of tulsi and construction of tulsikatte in the courtyard of a Kunbi house is a recent phenomenon. They also practice dendrolatry. However, the tulshikatte is built only in the courtyards of the houses of those Kunbis who are more Hinduised. Besides dendrolatry, the practice of Zoolatry is also found among the Kunbis. However, the practice of worshipping animal forms during marriages is fast disappearing. Oven is sacred and venerated by the Kunbis. Similarly, hunting expedition is believed to be an important

sacred worship offered to God. Kunbis do not have a well-organized priesthood. The head of the family or the Gaunkar acts a priest coming from Goa to pay visits to their settlements away from Goa shows that the affinity and emotional bandings are still alive between the Kunbis of Dakshina Kannada and those of Goa.

Animal sacrifices amongst the Kunbis could find very rarely, since they do not eat the flesh of animals reared in the household. And even if they kill animals on some special occasions, slaughtered animal is given away to the neighboring lower-caste Hindu people. However, coconut is the most common thing offered in almost all sacrificial matters among the Kunbis. The ancestor worship forms an important part of Kunbi religion. Ancestor spirits are invoked and worshipped annually or once in two years in some places. The death anniversary is very well marked and is called Mall/Mala - karya.

The study shows that majority of Kunbis are superstition bound and religious and want their children to be religious minded, participate in religious practices and rituals and continue the tradition in the future. Magic has an important place in Kunbi religion. However, the young generation among the Kunbis is reportedly becoming less religious. Kunbi religion is also characterized by the institution of Totemism. A large number of clans are totemistic. Out of about 105 clans, 48 clans appeared to be totemistic. Clan totems include animal totems, plant totems, individual totem, clan deity, and some inanimate objects. Figures of some animals are venerated at Kunbi marriages. Disturbing or hurting a rat snake and killing certain birds are taboos. During Holi festival rabbit is killed and eaten as a totem feast.

Kunbis observe different types of pre-natal, childhood and puberty rituals, which are almost similar to the rituals of upper caste Hindus. Although Kunbis of Goa those who follow the Christianity observe the different rituals. The most common rituals observed by the Kunbis is puberty ritual, ritual of first pregnancy, birth rituals such as childhood, naming ceremony, ear piercing and the death ritual. The use of Panchanga through Brahmin priest is also found in a few Kunbi families, which may be regarded as a sanskritising agent. Traditionally, though no initiation is observed among Kunbis a few instances of sacred thread ceremony have been found. Such instances point at to the influence of Sanskritisation. Various Kunbi rites, rituals, and worship are highly sanskritised today. The burial of the dead has been the general custom of the Kunbis in the past.

Along with their festivals they celebrate Hindu festival by the Kunbis. But the manner and purpose of celebration of these festivals are slightly different among Kunbis. The religion and festivals of Kunbis are very much influenced by Hindu religion and festivals. This is another instance of Hinduisation. Of all the festivals, Holi is most important for them. It is mainly celebrated to worship mother deity or Goan-Amma. In some places with the mother deity, Lord Mallikarjuna of Goa is also venerated. During Holi, Kunbis do their traditional costume and perform different types of dance. These dance have their own varieties and variations with specific songs sung in Kunbi dialect. There are hundreds of folk and devotional songs related to the stories from past. Kunbi men in their traditional attire go from place to place performing Holi dance, which suggest their nomadic nature. The fact that Kunbis believe that they incur the wrath of evil

spirits if the hunting expedition is not conducted immediately after the Holi festival shows that they are superstitious.

It is important to note that today the more Hinduised sections among Kodiyala Kunbis have constructed at various places in the district their own temples similar to those of caste Hindus. Apart from the temples, a few Bhajan Mandir also been established by them. The performance of various magical acts and oracles is declining. Collective singing and dancing are also becoming rare.

Though Holi is the most important festival, the Jati Kunbis are not to celebrate Holi festival and perform Holi dance. Nada Kunbis seem to have forgotten the celebrations of Holi and its dance forms. Are Kunbis, today do not perform Toni, Dorinach, one of the important dance forms of Kunbis is almost forgotten. In fact, Holi festival today is performed like a public function with a lot of changes due to modernization and Hinduisation processes. Influence of the head –man of other dominant Hindus castes like Bunts, and the impact of the costumes of local Yakshagana are founding the celebration of Holi festival among the Kunbis. A few enlightened young men of Kunbi society against their traditional norms have also established an organization of Kunbi dancers and musicians.

REFERENCES

Durkheim, Emile, 'The Elementary forms of religious life', London, 1912

Fuchs Stephen, The Aboriginal Tribes, (Mac Millan, Delhi, 1973).

Herskovits Meliville J., Cultural Anthropogy,(Oxford & IBlt, New Delhi :1974).

Mann R.S., Anthropological and Sociological theory- Approaches and Applications (Jaipur, Rawat: 19840).

Shrinivas, M.N., Religion and society among the coorgs of south India,(reprinted) (J.K.Publishers,London,1978).

Thurston, Edger, Caste and Tribes of South India,(Vol I to VII) (Madras Govt. Press, 1909).

Vidyarthi and Rai, B.K, The Tribal Culture of India,(Concept publication, Delhi, 1977).

CHAPTER V

ECONOMIC ORGANISATION

In order to fulfill the most of the items of the life, economic condition of a person plays a vital role. It also affects one's social standing. If we look at the economic conditions of tribes, we find that they are lagging far behind compared to the non-tribes in terms of income, housing and sanitation, living standards and health status. Even today, the tribes are depending on their tribal occupations like hunting, basket weaving. Though Economic Anthropology as a separate branch of knowledge has been developing today, not many empirical studies on tribal economy are available. In the present day society, there is a great need on the part of Anthologists, sociologists and Economists to conduct scientific study on the tribal economic processes and change. The economic life may be understood as material wants and requirements of the people. It is important to note that economically tribes in India are in transition.

The implementation of various programmes for the development of tribal welfare and community development schemes meant for the tribal areas and certain modern forces such as urbanization, education, transport and communications, establishment of commercial banks, co-operatives, marketing system etc. are bringing lot of changes in the economic life of the tribal communities. But the overall impact of these schemes and programmes has not been as encouraging as expected. “It is very difficult to find a simple

and precise form or trend of change in tribal economy as it fast changing on local levels. But the best approach to the identification of a change would be to consider the different new economic activities forms of economic which have emerged on the other" (Vidyarthi and Rai: 1977:140). The primary need of the people including tribes in India today is based on agriculture.

As far as tribes are concerned, majority of them even today follow traditional type of agriculture. Besides, large number of tribes even today depends on traditional occupations for their livelihood, such as food gathering, shifting cultivation, hunting, animal husbandry, handicrafts etc. Many tribes suffer from problems such as indebtedness, economic exploitation, lack of effective marketing system, landlessness, lack of knowledge about modern methods of agriculture operations etc. Thus it is necessary to examine their economy from the viewpoint of both change and development. Kunbis have a mixed economy. Like many Indian tribes, the economic life of Kunbis is characterized by agriculture, hunting, food gathering, animal husbandry, handicrafts etc. Economically Kunbis are backward. They lead a simple life with little material requirements.

BASE OF THE ECONOMY: It can be traced out from the History that the Kunbis were traditionally forest dwellers. Forest was a source of live hood for them for a long time. They were collecting minor forest produce like fruits, roots, herbs etc. It also provided them wood, bamboo, fruits, roots, leaves, tubers, lac, wax, bark, fiber, flowers, honey, medicinal herbs etc. Thus the forest served as a major source of livelihood for the Kunbis. When forest was their abode they derived their economic goods and other requirements from the

forest around them by way of shifting cultivation and food gathering. The forest also provided materials such as fuel wood, agricultural implements housing materials, materials for musical instruments etc. They also used to hunt animals in the forest. It is reported that until recently Jogi Kunbis depended on shifting cultivation. The respondents told the author that they have given up shifting cultivation only for the last fifteen years.

They also informed that the Government is restricted them from adopting shifting cultivation. Shifting cultivation is locally named as Kumeri Kunbis. In shifting cultivation the trees and seeds are sown and the seeds germinate when it rains. Generally slopes, hilly terrain, and valleys are selected for shifting cultivation. The site is protected by the trees, which are left uncut. This site is shifted every two or three years. It is reported that one of the major problems in these areas was fencing, and they were scared of the wild animals as they came and destroyed the standing crops. Sturrock in his study on Kunbis has observed that. They shift their dwellings from place to place in the forests for the purpose of Kumeri cultivation, which consists in felling and burning the forest, cultivating the clearing for few years and then passing on to another patch. A variety of crops were grown under shifting cultivation, in which millet was the most important cereal crop, followed by shy may ,turmeric and different types of vegetables.

The implements used for agriculture purpose were simple such as spade, axe, sickle, digging stick and pickaxe. A round shaped pit having a diameter of six meters was made near the site as a granary for storing Shy may. “The shifting cultivation was an integral part of the economy in the tribal

culture and as it grew out of a particular mental outlook, it also affected all other spheres of their cultural life"(Fuchs Stephen:1973:48). In addition to shifting cultivation, some of them were working as labourer in the preparation of catechu by forest contractors. It was an important occupation practiced by Kunbis for a long time. Even though they were expert in Catechu manufacture, they were receiving low wages from the forest contractors. "The main occupation of Kunbis is shifting cultivation. Some however are employed in the preparation of Cutch from the wood of Acacia Catechu" (Thurston, Eger: 1909:102). On account of various factors such as new forest policy influx of outsiders particularly plough cultivators, deforestation and other modernization processes the Kunbis are slowly alienated from the forest and settled in hilly and plain regions in the villages.

"The tribes in India have met different fates regarding the relationship with the forest" (Mann, R.S. 1980, 113:114). The Kunbis have transformed from the food gathering stage to settled agricultural stage. It is evident from the above that the Kunbis have experienced gradual economic changes. Consequently they have given up shifting cultivation and taken up the alternative occupations like agricultural labour, tenant farmers, plough cultivators etc. Besides occupying jobs in agricultural sector, a few of them were employed as watchman in the paddy fields, areca nut gardens, and domestic servants. Government of Karnataka in its backward classes Commission Report has reported that the agricultural labour and hunting are the traditional occupation of Kunbis. In the same report Venkatappa Gowda, while presenting a summary of evidence has pointed out that Kunbis live in isolation in the forests. They catch porcupines and rabbit. They collect herbs from the jungles and sell them in the market to augment their income.

Many modern changes have affected their traditional activities such as hunting and collecting of forest produce. In the present study majority of respondents have reported that the agricultural labour, has been accepted as main occupation of their ancestors. They also added that the incomes were supplemented by basket making, mat weaving, hunting, collecting and selling medicinal herbs etc.

Among Kunbis, particularly of Kodiyala subdivision, selling crude and dried specimens of roots, stems, leaves fruits, seeds, barks of several medicinal plants and trees on the roadside near Mangalore main market. Kunbis have inherited this skill from their forefathers through several generations of experience. Many elderly Kunbi men have knowledge of medicinal plants. Since they are close to forests and hilly areas the herbs and medicinal plants are readily available to cure day-to-day ailments. Due to deforestation, diversion of land for agriculture and construction of houses, roads, wells and such other activities have resulted in destruction of medicinal plants.

OTHER SUPPLIMENTARY OCCUPATIONS: Other than the main occupation, they perform different supplementary occupations such as Hunting and fishing, though they cannot be regarded as their main occupations now, do supplement their food to some extent. Hunting is known as Bowndi in their dialect. Kunbis everywhere are recognized as experts in hunting. Their skill of locating and shooting an animal has won them appreciation from the local area also take Kunbi men on their hunting expeditions. Their hunting weapons and implements include spears, axe, rope, nets, sticks etc. They use nets and stick to trap hares. They catch birds by using indigenous ropes. They use both nets and weapon of bamboo

or wooden sticks of different sizes to trap wild pigs. All the implements are made by them or procured from their neighboring tribesmen. The iron blades for axes are purchased from the local blacksmiths. They collect fibers, creepers and other raw materials from the forest for making ropes, nets, traps etc. In olden days fibers extracted from century plant and Tossa jute were used for making nets. The nets made of these fibers were used for trapping rabbits and wild pigs. Usually two or three years are taken for making nets. They measure about ten to fifteen feet in length and last for about fifteen to twenty years. There are two types of hunting viz, oldibet which is also called Ranabet and Sanlibet. Oldilibet is a complex and big game hunting. This type of hunting is organized with large number of hunters for trapping porcupines, wild pigs, deer etc. On the othere hand, Sanlibet is a simple and smaller form of hunting meant for trapping rabbits. Kunbis use variety of nets depending upon the type of hunting Kologure is a net used for trapping wild pigs. Porcupines are killed with spear. For trapping hares and rabbits a different net known as Sosedguri is used. In hunting operations Kunbis take part in groups. The group consists of minimum fifty and maximum hundred fifty members. Children also assist the adults in hunting. Among Jogi Kunbis dogs are the also taken on hunting expeditions. Kunbis decide well in advance regarding people to be included and where to start, who should carry implements, distribution of flesh etc. on hunting expeditions.

The hunting expeditions are usually organized in the noon. They usually prefer rainy season for trapping wild pig. Jogi Kunbis organize hunting expedition once in fifteen days or a month. Their hunting is systematic, disciplined, and well planed. Collective hunting is preceded and followed by a series of rituals and customs. They worship the animals and

other hunting implements for a good game before starting the hunting expedition. Hunting and hunting implements are sacred for Kunbis. They worship the God of hunting and hunting ritual. Banana flowers and fruits of five each, coconuts are offered to hunting god on some hilly area a little away from Gaunkar's house.

Women during menses are prevented from touching the hunting implements. Hunting of wild pig is believed to be a worship offered to Kempanna deity. As soon as the hunters enter into the forest equipped with weapons and implements, they take their respective positions as planned. They form a circle and shout hoarsely and beat bushes with sticks in order to frighten animal particularly porcupines and wild boars. The animals get scared and start running aimlessly. The hunters hiding behind the bushes kill them with their weapons. After trapping, the display of game is a taboo. Therefore it is covered with branches of trees or leaves, and then it is carried on head to the village for distribution. Quarrelling on meat, chewing betel, and smoking are tabooed during hunting expeditions. It is important to observe the distribution of flesh of the animal on return. Before distributing meat one share is also offered to the God of hunting. It is put into a leaf and kept on a hill or at a distant place in the forest and worship is offered to it collectively. Before eating meat a small share is thrown on their right side for spirits. Kunbis believe that their hunting activity will fail in future if spirits are not offered their share in game.

The same ritual is observed while collecting honey from the forest. However among the Jogi Kunbis no ritual is observed before starting expedition. In case they get game, then both meat and hunting implements are worshipped. It is

called Wadi in their dialect. In case a wild bore is killed, the hunter who possesses the net will receive the share of its head, hind leg, backbone, and foot as a mark of respect; In case of Kodiyala Kunbis such hunter will get head, back boon, chest, and lungs. A person who kills the wild pig with spear will receive the front leg in addition to the above share. Among Kodiyala Kunbis the front leg is given to the owner of the land and no extra share ifs given to a hunter who kills the wild pig. If there is any person who shoots at animal for the second time, he will receive the share from the front leg, whereas similar share is not given to the hunter. Among Kunbis the liver of the wild pig is dried and preserved in a bamboo reed till the next holly festival arrives. The dried meat is offered worship and eaten on Holi festival. Besides hunting, the Kunbis participate in fishing operation.

However fishing is usually done by households independently. Moreover fishing is not regular means of livelihood for Kunbis. People participate in fishing activities in near by rivers and streams particularly in rainy season. The trap used for fishing is named as Guli (a bamboo trap), nets made of fiber for catching fish and crab. They use variety of nets in different sizes depending upon the size and quantity of fish. Creeper and fiber are used for making fishing nets. Zali is an important traditional type of net of Kunbis used for capturing very big fish. When they want to catch more number of fish they use another type of net called Zoll. They use Gorzali and idulekankanibale for catching fish of small size. Kankanibale (also Kantanibale) is another type of net used for catching long and fast running fish. Beesbale is another type of net, which is spread over the water in circle for catching fish.

They have another net called Bidubale, which is used for deep-water fishing. Of these various nets, a few of them are also used by local fishermen. In addition to these nets, fish are also caught by bating which is called Gari. They also use the cone shaped bamboo traps of different sizes known as Gari for catching fish and crab. If we look at the present situation, we come across several changes in their hunting activities. Due to the restriction imposed on collecting wood from the forest, they are finding it hard to get fibers, creepers and other raw materials for making net in a traditional way. Consequently, they have started using nylon threads for making both hunting and fishing nets.

The transformation of joint families into independent households has affected the protective hunting among Kunbis. The restrictions on hunting and scarcity of animals have also affected the hunting activities. It is interesting to note that the younger members among Kunbis are ignorant of net making and traditional methods of hunting. Thus today hunting is practiced only as a tradition or pastime. Singh aptly point out 'hunting has almost disappeared as the sub-continent's rich wild life faces extinction and many of such species as survive have been protected under the laws. Rituals connected with hunting are however still being observed. It is important to note that, besides preparation of hunting and fishing materials, certain agricultural implements, the skill of Kunbis is also recognized in handicrafts.

"The craft and cottage industries are peculiar features of the tribal people as a whole and most of them know matting, basket work, bamboo-work, spinning etc. These serve as a subsidiary occupation for them"(Vidyarthi and Rai :1977:131). Thus, we understand that tribal crafts involve both cultural and

economic values. It may be viewed from different angles such as artistic emotional, ritualistic, economic etc. The handicrafts made by Kunbis can be formed as ritualistic utilitarian and individualistic. The poles, Ghumat sticks (used for dance purpose), Plumes (part of dance costume) are some of the important ritualistic articles used in their services of rituals, dance etc. They are specialized in mat making and basketwork. Their basketwork represents utilitarian type of craft, whereas, manufacture of net and mat making are individualistic crafts.

In the past Kunbis were engaged in different types of crafts such as wooden chappal making (out of bark) Kalembi making (used for storing articles), making raincoats from leaves and strips of creepers and bamboo, kalese making (a boat shaped wooden material used for drawing water from the pond) etc. But these primitive crafts have perished today. Mat making is entirely a woman's job among Kunbis. However, both men and women collect raw materials for mat making. Mat is woven from the komb or small date plants. The leaves of small date are dried and beautifully woven and stitched with the help of a fiber derived from a fiber yielding plant known as Bootparangi or century plant.

Mats are woven in different size, which are qualitatively good and durable. Kunbi mats are in great demand in their villages and weekly markets. It is usually sold by women in the market and its earning is kept for them for personal use. Due to the scarcity of small date plants, kodiyala Kunbis have started using the leaves of Bonok or screw pine for the purpose of mat weaving. Basketwork consists of bamboo and creeper baskets of various sizes and shapes. There are large cylindrical shaped baskets used for carrying dry leaves from the hills or forests to the house. There are large circular baskets used for

carrying manure to the field or for carrying other articles. Several small baskets are also made for storing grains, roots and other edibles. They also make ladle, candle, tray, sieve from bamboo strips and creepers collected from the forest. The creepers such as, Jeenia (Jane) or Ankados (Leea indica), Goyinta (Solena heterophyila heterophyllus) are used fro making baskets of different types. The creeper Goyinta is used for making small baskets. The finished goods are sold either to their own people in the village or non-tribes or sold in weekly markets. These cottage industries supplement the income and occupy an important place in Kunbi economy.

However, the income derived from handicrafts is not sufficient to meet their requirements. Sometimes they are exploited and their crafts are paid very low price by buyers from non-tribal group. However in the present day society only mat making and some very essential basketwork are being continued and rest of the crafts have been given up. The younger generations among Kunbis have forgotten their traditional crafts. Kunbis are hard working and skilled in agricultural operations. All those who have become settled agriculturists are predominantly dependent on plough cultivation. Their common agricultural crops are paddy and pulses. The pulses generally include black gram, horse gram, green gram etc. They also grow sweet potatoes (batatas), Suring (elephant yam), taro, Kanaki (bamboo), palak (Indian spinach).

Recently certain cash crops like sugarcane, turmeric, chilies, coconut, and areca nut are also grow in some villages. The Kunbis settled in hilly and plain region are engaged in agriculture as tenants or landowners. The idea of private ownership of land is accepted by Kunbis in the recent period.

The size and pattern of use of land holdings certainly affect the standard of living of tribes in a significant way as they determine their major economic activities. Though agricultural activities are quite common among Kunbis, the use of modern methods of agriculture and innovating inputs in agriculture is very insignificant. The use of modern methods of agricultural operations such as the use of chemical fertilizers and pesticides, article irrigation, scientifically processed seeds modern agricultural implements etc. help in increasing the productivity and income from agriculture.

Table: 5.1 Awareness/use of modern methods of agricultural improvement by the Kunbi farmers.

Sr. No	Nature of land	Freq.		%	
		D.K	Goa	D.K.	Goa
1	Fertilizers, Seeds	18	19	18.00	19.00
2	Insecticides	13	14	13.00	14.00
3	Chemical Fertilizer	26	27	26.00	27.00
4	Artificial irrigation	08	03	8.00	3.00
5	All the above methods	10	12	10.00	12.00
6	Not applicable	25	25	25.00	25.00
		100	100	100	100

The data pertaining to the respondent's use of modern methods of agricultural operations are presented in table no.5.1. The data reveal that 26% and 27% of the respondents from Dakshina Kannada District and Goa respectively use chemical fertilizers. 13% from Dakshina Kannada District and 14% from Goa use insecticides to increase yield and to save the crops from insects and worms.

It is evident from the above data that a greater proportion of the respondents 150(75%) are aware of one or the other type

of modern agricultural methods. The data further reveal that one-fourth of the respondents either did not aspire to adopt the modern methods of agriculture or were ignorant of these innovative techniques. It is observed that in almost every village there is an acute problem of water both for drinking and agricultural practices. Consequently their farm operations exclusively depend on the monsoon. Some depend upon well water or nearby rivers or ponds.

Table: 5.2 Occupation of the respondent's wives

Occupation	Number		%	
	D.K	Goa	D.K	Goa
Handicraft	15	11	15	11
Manual lab./ Agric.	25	20	25	20
Employed in Govt. sector	11	19	11	19
Beedi rolling	10	03	10	03
Employed in private sector	07	22	7	22
House wife	32	25	32	25
	100	100	100	100

A majority of the respondents were engaged in one or the other type of job. The Kunbi women are playing a significant role in supplementing the family income. The data of Table no. 5.2 provide the relevant details. 25(25%) respondents' wives from Dakshina Kannada District are engaged in assisting agricultural were as 20(20%) from Goa. Another about 15% and 11% are engaged in handicraft work 26(13%), very few do beedi rolling. 7% & 22% working in private sector and 11% & 19% are employed in Govt.

Table:5.3 Occupation of the respondents Parents from Dakshina Kannada District

Occupation	Father		Mother	
	No	%	No	%
Agriculture/Cultivation	50	50	63	63
Worker in private sector	07	7	05	05
Manual labour	17	17	17	17
Handicrafts	15	15	11	11
Govt. Service	11	11	04	04
	100	100	100	100

Table No. 5.4 Occupation of the respondents Parents from Goa

Sr No	Occupation	Father		Mother	
		No	%	No	%
1	Agriculture/Cultivation	50	50	58	58
2	Worker in private sector	12	12	13	13
3	Manual labour	16	16	15	15
4	Handicrafts	07	07	07	07
5	Govt. Service	15	15	07	07
		100	100	100	100

The relevant data are presented in Table No. 5.3 and Table No. 5.4. The data show that a significant majority of the respondents, both father and mother at both the places depended on land either as agricultural labourers or small cultivators. Only a small percentage of the respondents were engaged in non-agricultural occupations.

HOUSING CONDITIONS: It is observed that 198 have got their own houses, while 7(3.5%) live in rented houses. It is observed that even landless tenants have constructed their own houses in their master's land and rest of them in barren un-irrigated government land. It is observed that though majority of the sample respondents own houses, most houses are substandard and poorly constructed.

Table: 5.5 **Type of Houses**

Type of Houses	Respondents		Percentage	
	D.K.	Goa	D.K.	Goa
Thatched	30	15	30	15
Tiled	56	64	56	64
Partially tiled	10	14	10	14
R. C. C.	04	07	4	7
Total	100	100	100	100

The data on the type of house reveal that 120 (60%) respondents live in tiled houses, 45(22.5%) and 11(5.5%) of them still live in thatched and RCC houses respectively. Further more, nearly half of the respondents' houses are thatched ones, and the condition of these houses is not satisfactory. However, it is gratifying to note that as high as 80.96 per cent of the respondents own and live in thatched or tiled houses. Poverty and lack of awareness about housing and better living are responsible for substandard housing among Kunbis.

With regard to electricity, 98 (49%) families have domestic type of electricity and 63 (31.5%) have all Electric

Home connection. It is depressing to note that a large majority of respondents 39 (19.5%) not yet have electricity connections especially in some of the villages in Dakshina Kannada District. Moreover, the thatched houses cannot be electrified.

Table: **5.6** **Fuel used**

Type of fuel used	Number		Percentage	
	D.K.	Goa	D.K.	Goa
Only fire wood	67	43	67	43
Only Gobar gas plant	06	04	6	4
Firewood and Gobar Gas pant	05	04	5	4
Electricity and Kerosene	08	02	8	2
L.P.G.	14	47	14	47
	100	100	100	100

As far as the use of fuel is concerned a large majority of the respondents depend only on firewood, 6 families have Gobar Gas plant, 5 families use both firewood and Gobar Gas plant only,8 families use electricity and kerosene and 14 families uses L.P.G in Dakshina Kannada District. Where as in Goa 43 families use only firewood, 4 families have Gober Gas plant, 4 families use electricity and kerosene and 47 families uses L.P.G.

Further, it is apparent that a majority of the respondents, i.e.155 (77.5%) do not own flush-out lavatory and the families of respondents having flush – out lavatory are 45 (22.5%), which shows that the majority of families are inhabit hilly tracts and low forest areas, they do not consider modern sanitary facilities as very essential. Besides, lack of awareness and economic backwardness are also contributing to this

situation. However, a few educated families who are living in villages and towns have built modern flush-out lavatories.

ANNUAL FAMILY INCOME

The data in tables given below reveal the total annual family income from all sources. The annual income of the family will enable us to understand the economic condition of the Kunbis and also to see whether any change has taken place in their condition. While computing the income data, the income derived from agriculture and cultivation, labour or wage income and income earned from sale of handicrafts and forest produce gathered by all members of a Kunbi family have been taken into account.

Table: 5.7 Distribution of respondents of Goa according to total annual family income from all sources

Sr. No.	Annual Income (Rs)	Families (f)	%	(x)	(fx)
1	Below Rs. 20,000	20	10	10,000	200,000
2	Rs. 20,000 – 30,000	67	33.5	25,000	16,75000
3	Rs. 30,000 – 40,000	73	36.5	35,000	25,55,000
4	Rs. 40000 – 50,000	30	15	45,000	13,50,000
5	Rs. 50,000 - 60,000	10	5	55,000	5,50,000
		200	100		6,33,0000

The income of a large majority of tribal households of Goa is 73 (36.5%) tends to vary between Rs. 30000-40,000 per annum. 67 (33.5%) households have the family income of Rs. 20,000-30,000 per annum. Further, 30 (15%) families have an annual income Rs. 40,000 – 50,000, 10% of Kunbis families have an annual income below Rs. 20000, 10(5%) families earn gross annual income between Rs.50,000- 60,000. The average annual income of the respondents is Rs. 31,650.

Table: 5.8 Distribution of respondents of Dakshina Kannada District according to total annual family income from all sources

Sr. No	Annual Income(Rs)	Families (f)	%	(x)	(fx)
1	Below Rs. 20,000	25	12.5	10,000	250000
2	Rs. 20,000 – 30,000	70	35	25,000	1750000
3	Rs. 30,000 – 40,000	68	34	35,000	2380000
4	Rs. 40000 – 50,000	27	13.5	45,000	1215000
5	Rs. 50,000 - 60,000	10	5.00	55,000	550000
		200	100		6145000

Data in the table 5.8 reveals the income of a large majority of tribal households of Dakshina Kannada District is 70 (35%) tends to vary between Rs. 20000-30,000 per annum. 68 (34%) households have the family income of Rs. 30,000-40,000 per annum. Further, 27 (13.5%) families have an annual income Rs. 40,000 – 50,000, 25% of Kunbis families have an annual income below Rs. 20000, 10(10%) families earn gross annual income between Rs.50,000- 60,000. The average annual income of the respondents is Rs. 30,725.

VIEWS OF THE RESPONDENTS ABOUT OCCUPTION: It is important to find out whether the respondents wish to continue or change their present occupation. The respondents were asked whether they wished to change their occupation, if yes, they were asked to state the type of occupation that they prefer. The data reveal that 86 (43%) of them aspire not to change their occupation and 114 (57%) of them aspire to change their occupation. Those who wish to change their occupation are not happy in their present occupation, as it is not remunerative. This shows that the respondents are not very

keen on practicing their traditional occupation. On the contrary, they aspire to take up remunerative jobs.

When they were asked to state why they wished to change their occupation, 85 (40.47%) of them said that they would like to change it to improve their living standards. 9 (4.28%) respondents aspired to change their occupation because their present job is strenuous and hard. These respondents usually were engaged in some of the strenuous work such as quarrying, digging wells etc. and 6(2.85%) of them said that their present job is not remunerative and attractive. Thus, it may be inferred from the above that economic factor is mainly responsible for their dissatisfaction in their job.

On the other hand, of those who showed no interest in changing their present job, 96 (45.71%) do not want to change the job because they have no other alternatives due to lack of skill and lack of money. A few respondents even said that they are not getting any help or support from their own people, elites of their community and the government for better employment. 8 (3.80%) of them showed no interest because they have no education. 6(2.87%) respondents are satisfied with their present job. Thus, it is evident that on account of lack of education, low income and lack of encouragement and support they did not aspire to change their occupation.

VIEWS ABOUT THE OCCUPATION OF THEIR CHILDREN: Aspiration of an individual reflects one's awareness, socio-economic position, and desire for vertical mobility. In this context, it is important to examine the aspirations of the respondents about their children's occupation. It is surprising to note that majority of the sample respondents do not have

any specific hope, ideas, preferences, and aspirations about the type of jobs that their children procure.

Table: 5.9 Occupational views of respondents for their children

Perception	Number		Percentage	
	D.K.	Goa	D.K.	Goa
Agriculture	43	21	43	21
Manual labour	05	Nil	5	--
Business	23	31	23	31
Any Govt. & private Job	20	46	20	46
Cannot answer	09	02	9	2
	100	100	100.00	100

The data presented in Table No. 5.9 show that about 43% of the respondents from Dakshina Kannada District want their children to continue their traditional occupation like agriculture, 23% of them expect their children to do some business and about 20% prefer that their children should procure jobs in government service. 9% of the respondents have not indicated any specific occupation for their children. Where as from Goa 21% wanted to do Agriculture, 31% business, 46% prefer for Govt. job and 2% of the respondents have not indicated any specific occupation for their children.

It is important to note that the respondents expressed their aspirations according to their ability to put them in a particular job and the extent of awareness that they have developed about the various job opportunities available in society. Both in terms of their ability and awareness, the respondents are very backward.

With regard to their opinion about continuing traditional occupations is slightly more than half of the sample

respondents expressed their desire to continue their age-old traditional occupations such as hunting ,basket work, collection of forest produce etc., While 56 (28%) of them are not willing to continue it.

Further, they have offered the following reasons for continuing their traditional occupations. Among those who answered in affirmative, about a fourth of the answers advert to their hereditary occupation and part of their religious activity. 57(28.5%) opine that their traditional occupations serve as an additional source of income, which supplements family income to some extent. Another 32(16%) regard traditional occupations as a leisure time activity and remaining 9 (4.5%) said that they want to continue these occupations in order to preserve their identity. They were also asked to state whether they desire to change their occupations. About one-fifth of the respondents are not in favour of continuing their traditional occupations because according to them it is very hard and difficult to hunt wild animals; similarly to prepare handicrafts there is difficulty in collection of raw materials. 11(5.5%) of the respondents are of the view that hunting involves violence and it is legally prohibited. Six respondents said that now a day there is no opportunity to learn these traditional occupations. A very few i.e. 5(2.5%) respondents said that they have no interest in it.

It is evident from the above data that their traditional occupation is in the process of disintegration. Lack of unity, team spirit, non-availability of raw materials, deforestation, and legal restriction are some of the factors contributing to the disintegration of their traditional occupations and crafts.

SAVINGS AND INVESTIMENT: An investigation on saving and investment behavior of the respondents was undertaken. 78(39%) respondents have reported that they possess small saving deposits with commercial banks, post officers and co-operative societies. The remaining 122(61%) have reported that they do not possess saving bank account, a good number of families had to open savings account inevitably for borrowing money from credit co-operatives. The data indicate that a large majority of the families are ignorant of modern modes of savings. It may be inferred that the situation of low income, unsecured wage employment and large family size and under-employment do not permit large number of families to save money. However, savings deposits were found only among one-third of the respondents.

Nevertheless, the Kunbis are slowly becoming aware of the significance of savings in economic life. This further shows their ability to maintain savings deposits with public sectors bank and co-operatives.

Table: 5.10 Distribution of respondents by their nature / type of help taken from the Govt. agencies.

Nature / type of help	Answer		Percentage	
	D.K.	Goa	D.K.	Goa
Land	24	27	24	27
Loan	33	30	33	30
Agricultural	23	20	23	20
Family Planning	20	23	20	23
	100	100	100.00	100

Further it gives details about the different types of development and welfare assistance taken by Kunbis families from various governmental agencies. It is observed from the

above that 24% and 27% from Dakshina Kannada District and Goa respectively sample families have received land either directly from the government for residential purpose or agriculture land by way of Land Reforms Act. Some families have received the benefit of bank loan either through commercial bank or co-operative societies or loan mela scheme initiated by the former Deputy Finance Minister.

A very small number of Kunbi families women have undergone family planning sterilization and obtained benefits under various schemes. But it should be noted that the nature and form of help rendered to them is limited. A large number of members of Kunbi society have expressed that the benefits extended to them are not at all sufficient. It is true that Kunbis being non-scheduled are deprived of various benefits and provided by the government for the welfare of scheduled tribes.

CONCLUSIONS

Economically, Kunbis are backward. For a long time, they used to shift their dwellings from forest to forest; practicing shifting cultivation as a result, they are economically backward. However, today they have settled down as agriculturists and labourers. Like many other Indian tribes, Kunbis have a mixed economy. For their livelihood they depend on almost all available economic means such as plough cultivation, hunting, collecting minor forest produces, handicrafts, animal husbandry, selling medicinal herbs and roots. When forest was their abode, they obtained their economic goods and other requirements from the forest around them, by way of shifting cultivation and food gathering. However, because of various factors such as new forest policy, deforestation and other modernization processes, the Kunbis

are slowly alienated from the forest and have settled down in hilly and plain regions in the villages.

Selling medicinal herbs is an important occupation of Kunbis, particularly of Kodiyala section. However, deforestation, utilization of land for agriculture and construction of houses, roads, well and such other activities have resulted in the destruction of medicinal plants. This has resulted further in gradual extinction of traditional occupations such as serving as village medicine men, collection, and sale of herbs and roots from the forest. Hunting and fishing, though they cannot be regarded as their main occupations now, do supplement their food to some extent. All the hunting implements are made by them or procured from their neighboring tribesmen.

However, today hunting is practiced only as a ritual or a pastime. Due to the restrictions imposed on collecting wood from the forest, they are finding it hard to get fibers, creepers and other raw materials for making nets in a traditional way. Consequently, they have started using nylon threads for making both hunting and fishing nets. The division of joint families into independent households has affected the practice of collecting among Kunbis.

The restrictions on hunting and scarcity of animals have also affected the hunting activities. It is interesting to note that the Kunbi youth are ignorant of making and traditional methods of hunting. It is important to note that, besides preparation of certain hunting and fishing materials, as well as agricultural implements, the skill of Kunbis is also recognized in handicrafts such as basket works and mat making. The handicrafts made by them can be classified as ritualistic,

utilitarian, and individualistic. The poles, Ghumat, sticks used for Toni, plumes are some of the ritualistic articles used in their services of rituals, dance etc. The present generation among the Kunbis has not learnt their traditional crafts.

They accept the idea of private ownership of land recently. The Kunbis settled in hilly and plain region are engaged in agriculture as tenants or landowners. The study shows that the majority of the Kunbis families possess less than one acre of arable land and the area of the land under non-arable category is large in the Kunbi families. The un-irrigated and non-cultivable land possessed by the Kunbis is an important cause for poor economic condition. The implementation of land reforms Act of 1961 in Karnataka has enabled many Kunbi tenants to acquire land from their masters though what they have lost is more than what they have gained. In olden days, their crafts and the food articles such as paddy, pulses, and vegetables were not sold in the market for cash but were bartered for other goods. But today, a shift from barter economy to market economy can be seen in Kunbi society.

The Kunbis are becoming increasingly aware of one or the other type of modern agricultural methods though some are yet using primitive methods for various reasons. In almost every village there is an acute shortage of water for Kunbis both for drinking and agricultural practices. It is observed that in many low-income families the domestic animals are poorly kept. Majority of the Kunbis are not aware of the financial assistance and subsidy facility for the purchase of livestock. It is evident though the majority is dependent on land and agriculture; they are also dependent on other sources for

livelihood such as manual labour, beedi rolling, government service, handicrafts and forest products.

The fact that today Kunbis use metal utensils as well as modern household articles and that they are capable of buying radios, tape-recorders and in some cases even television, shows that their economic condition is improving and they are enjoying better standard of living. Obviously, they have developed taste for civilized entertainment and have access to modern mass media. Housing conditions of Kunbis are still far from satisfactory. Most houses are sub-standard and poorly constructed. Poverty and lack of awareness about housing and better living seem to be the causes for sub-standard housing among the Kunbis. Also, it is depressing to note that a large majority of them have not yet got electricity connections. A very large majority of them do not own flush out lavatory facility and still they do not consider modern sanitary facilities as very essential.

Many have given up their traditional occupations and accepted new occupations. They are gradually developing entrepreneurship. The average family income shows that Kunbis are below the poverty line. The use of liquor, beedi smoking spend thriftiness on festive occasions, increasing amount of bride price and the practice of dowry system are contributing to their socio-economic backwardness. The poor economic condition of Kunbis is mainly due to lack of education, lack of irrigational facilities, and lack of knowledge about modern agricultural methods and partly due to possessions of non-cultivable dry land the non-availability of benefits extended to Scheduled Tribes.

The occupational aspirations of Kunbis for their children are not ambitious. Today, Kunbis are gradually becoming

aware of the significance of savings in their economic life. **Kunbis have a well-organized governing body or a council** to regulate the political and social activities and codes of conduct in spite of the fact that for centuries they were living in forests away from the mainstream of population.

REFERENCES

Fuchs Stephen, The Aboriginal Tribes, (Mac Millan, Delhi, 1973).

Mann, R.S.,Antropological & Sociological theory –Approaches and Applications, (Rawat,Jaipur,1984).

Thurston, Edger,Caste and Tribes of South India,(Vol I to VII (Madras Govt. Press,1909).

Vidyarthi and Rai, B.K, The Tribal Culture of India,(Concept publication, Delhi, 1977).

CHAPTER VI

POLITICAL ORGANISATION

If we go back to our history or even in the pre-historic period, we will be notice that every society has devised its own ways and methods to regulate the relation between its members and to deal with dispute. The disciplinary and juridical matters are managed by prescribing laws and punishments. A tribal society as every where else has got its own political organization. Vidyarthi and Rai have found that some form of government exists even among the small wandering bands, forest hunting type of tribes, and forest dwelling tribes.

According to them "the tribal political associations are micro-political in nature. In their opinion, tribal society is marked by three important characteristics viz. 1) political association, based on clan lineage, 2) political association, based on the villages as unit and 3) political association of a group of villages of a territory" (Vidyarthi and Rai 1977:195-196). The above features as delineated by Vidyarthi and Rai are clearly reflected in this present study on Kunbis. Kunbis have a governing body or a council within their community, which is called by different names such as Vaddo, Vadi, Valya, Valthule, Kudukattu etc. The term wado appears to be the most common usage prevalent in Kunbi society. A wado is an important social institution of Kunbis, which is constituted by several Kutumbs (lineages), Balis (clans) and families of both

joint and nuclear type. It is the main structural unit of the Kunbi politics. Wado usually functions at the village level and very rarely it may include a group of villages. Generally, each wado consists of families ranging from 10 to 250. There are about 40 wados among Kunbis functioning at present in different villages throughout the district. The elder male member of each Kutumb functions as a responsible representative of wado.

The Kunbi tribe is divided into several wados in the district. Each wado has a headman or chieftain called Gaunkar whose office is hereditary. In case there is no direct male descendent of the office of Gaunkar, the new successor is chosen from among his agnates. Besides the term Gaunkar, there are different names such as Budduvanthgar, Wade Budyanath, Mandkar, Gaovgavdo or Gaovachegavdo. The Gaunkar regulates all internal relationships within the wado. He represents the rudimentary organization of justice.

He is like a monarch who possesses absolute power and authority over the members of wado. He should also fulfill various objectives that are laid down by the governing body. Various problems and grievances are usually discussed and decided at a meeting of wado, which is headed by the Gaunkar. Elders also participate in the meeting. There are two subordinates under Gaunkar viz. Raibari and Gadya, who assist in all social and religious matters. Gaunkar performs his duties and functions with the assistance of a Raibari. Gadya assists Gaunkar in all religious activities.

The presence of Gaunkar at every Kunbi marriage, within his jurisdictions is very essential. Besides this, presence

is also necessary during a funeral ritual in his wado. If Gaunkar is not able to attend such rituals for some reason, then the Raibari attends as a representative of Gaunkar. Gaunkar also leads hunting expeditions organized by the members of his wado. He also, usually leads the touring dance troupe on the occasions of Holi festival. The wado is constituted for controlling and directing the behavior and activities of its members. Kunbi life is generally governed by religion, customs, and traditions. The function of wado or Kudukattu is not to formulate laws and regulations but to see that their religious rites, customs, traditions, festivals, and rituals are followed. Mann has asserted `systems of social control in tribal societies vary from simple to complex ones. It varies from hamlet leadership to chieftainship and from village council to regional one. The dictions-making processes vary. But, certain common elements do underline various kinds of councils and the way the conflicting matters are resolved. Such elements are in the form of sanctions, mostly having religious roots ` The wado asserts its authority by prescribing punishments for those who disobey the laws and regulations.

Those who disobey the laws are fined or ostracized in accordance with the nature and type of offence or guilt. The law depends on moral and religious principals. Since the Gaunkar himself acts as a judge, he takes the decisions in all criminal cases. In a traditional Kunbi society wado or Kudukattu imposed several rules and regulations in order to check anti-social and anti-religious activities within the group. The wado had also imposed certain specific sanctions for enforcing rules. There are variations in punishment in accordance with the nature of offences. In case of adultery, an offender will be expelled from the Kudukattu and later he and the members of his

family will not be invited for any function arranged by the Kudukattu.

However, he will not be excommunicated; instead he receives equal respect like others. But, if a woman indulges in adultery, it would be considered a heinous act. If she commits adultery, she will be excommunicated and expelled from her house. She is not allowed to participate in any of the activities relating to Kudukattu. In case of inter-tribal marriage, the culprits, whether male or female are excommunicated resulting in the loss of their position as members of their community. Consuming prohibited food particularly flesh of fowl, using bazaar meat or eating cooked food at the hands of other tribes and casts except Brahmins is regarded as an offence and the culprit is find for such violations of traditional rules of food. Such violators are also seriously criticized by the members of wado.

Selling meat of an animal, hunted from jungle is regarded as an offence. If anyone violates this rule, enquiry is made immediately and fine or punishment is decided in the meeting. wado system among Kunbis expects that every woman should wear sari in traditional Kunbi style i.e. Gente /Dethli. Those who violate, have to pay the penalty. The penalty collected from the offenders will be offered to God. In olden days, men were expected to keep a tuft of hair hanging at the back of the head. If anyone got it cut, the offender was fined Rs.5/- similarly, having one's haircut was also forbidden and was regarded as an offence. All the members of wado are expected to participate in Holi festival, dance and other allied activities. In the event of their non-participation on these occasions, the cases of violations are referred to the meeting of Kudukattu.

The absentee or the violator has to state the reason for his absence before the Gaunkar and the council of elders and the Gaunkar punishes the offenders. A fine (Kanike), in the form of coconut will have to be offered to Kudukattu at the meeting. Sometimes, children are also asked and questioned for the offences committed by their parents earlier. If sticks and Ghumat used at Holi dance fall or, touch the ground, the person responsible for this happening is punished by being made to offer a coconut to god after conducting an enquiry by the Gaunkar Any dispute relating to celebration of Holi festival or performance of dance is generally settled by offering a coconut to god as penance and this is the most common punishment awarded to an offender among Kunbis. The coconut is later used for feast during Holi festival. Many a time, the person committing an offence has to arrange a feast for all the members of wado. In olden days, some severe and rigorous punishments (which we do not find today) were awarded to the offender. For instance, for violating the norms an offender was pushed into a granary pit of shy may (panicum miliaceum). It is so slippery that an offender had to struggle hard to come out of the pit. "Among the Goa Kunbis, an adulterer has to undergo a curious form of punishment. His head is clean-shaved, and his mustache removed. He, then, stands in a pit and leaf-platters, of which food has been eaten, and thrown on his head. The headman imposes a money fine. If a woman does not confess her guilt, she is made to stand in the sun with an iron rod on her shoulders"(Thurston Edger: 1909:99-100). While awarding punishments, different types of evidences are called for in deciding criminal cases in Kunbi society. The offender has to take an oath in the name of Goan deity during a criminal trial. All disputes and problems are decided and settled in the meeting at the Gaunkar's house.

The nature of the offence will have to be brought to the notice of wado and a meeting of three prominent local leaders is held and the offender is fined. The fine ranges from Rs.10 to Rs.20. The fine is offered to God and then used for the expenses of Holi festival. For any type of offence, if any offender tells a lie, it is believed that the anger of God will punished him within three years.

They also strongly believed that a culprit will come and submit the facts before Gaunkar if he/she experiences any trouble or problem whatsoever. The behavior and activities of the members of the group are regulated not only through the method of punishments but they are also praised and rewarded for their right conduct and involvement in the day-to-day affairs of the group. If a person continues to retain his membership in wado is treated with special respect.

Similarly, a person who knows their traditional dance forms viz. Ghumat, Toni and Dorinach is accorded great respect in the community. On the contrary, those who have severed relationship with wado, or have been expelled from it, do not receive any respect in their society. The house of the Gaunkar and the ancestral house are greatly respected. In another context, Gaunkar`s house itself happens to be the ancestral house for those who are the descendants of Gaunkar`s ancestors. Both the head of the ancestral house and the Gaunkar are regarded with great reverence. The Gaunkar`s house is the centre for all social, political, religious and cultural activities. The performance of dances such as Gummat, tonio, Dorinach, religious worship such as worship of the deity of wado, regulation of behavior and activities through the norms of wado etc. take place at the house of Gaunkar.

The musical instruments and other materials used for dance such as ghumat, sticks, costumes etc. are preserved in Gaunkar house. Besides, different types of hunting implements such as spear, rope, nets, fish traps, and poles are also kept there. On certain occasions of festivals or after the performance of Holi dance they observe a custom of going for hunting and fishing under the leadership of the Gaunkar. Hunting expeditions of such kind starts from the house of the Gaunkar. In the traditional social structure, Kunbis do not plant Tulsi or sacred basil (Ocimum sanctum) in their courtyards, through it is commonly found in every Hindu house in India. But it is planted on the courtyard of both the Gaunkar`s and the ancestral house. A Tulasikatte (a square structure on which a tulasi plant is growing) is installed on the courtyard and worshiped both by the Gaunkar and the headman of the ancestral house. The Gaunkar is respected and influential in Kunbi social life. He takes care of almost all the matters concerning his group and issues instructions on every occasion such as marriage, festivals, funeral, dance, hunting, worship etc. He performs these functions generally with the help of Raibari and Ghadi. He is the leader who administers justice.

IMPACT OF MODERNIZATION: Though the Gaunkar had absolute power and authority in the past, he has lost many of his traditional authority in the present day society. The practice of designating the headman as Gowda as observed by Sturrock is not found today except among jogi Kunbis. However, the word Gowda is commonly used as surname between Kodiyala and Jogi Kunbis.

In the recent days Kunbis have formed their own council within the wado, which consists of five members representing

five different Kutumb. Normally, the headman of each Kutumb represents in the five men council. It is the council, which is constituted by the representatives belonging to five different families. These representatives exercise their power through the new council. In recent years, after a new council is constituted, all decisions regarding the day-to-day affairs of the wado are passed and approved in the new council itself. Kunbis say that the new five-member council is more democratic than the government by a single person. However, the Gaunkar's House continues as a venue for holding meetings. They also say that traditional Gaunkar and raibari do not deserve any extra authority and respect because they have failed in keeping up their integrity, sincerity, values of selflessness and such other good qualities of a traditional headman. Therefore, they are now seldom obeyed or treated with respect.

Owing to the introduction of statutory panchayat, the role of Kunbi wado is changing. A few educated young men have started taking an interest in regional political parties and village politics. A few elite groups have also emerged among them in certain regions near Mangalore owing to education land reforms and contact with city people. However, involvement of the Gaunkar and the headman of kutumb in the five men committee, preference to hold meetings at Gaunkar`s house and importance given to Gaunkar during dance and Holi festival indicate that they still attach prestige and importance to their traditional institutions and consider them as part of their tribal culture. Though the introduction of Panchayat Raj, adult franchise, elections, formation of political parties, courts, education, mass media of communication etc. have given a set back to the traditional wado system, it has not changed the situation to a great

extent."Tribal society being distinct from other societies in terms of its backwardness and isolation, the process of political development is slow here. This is true of the pace of change in the social outlook of the tribes"(Pamecha Renuka 1985:214). Further, it may also be argued that since modern society is changing and becoming more and more complex, a single person is not able to run tribal administration successfully, therefore, people do not consider the traditional organization of justice as important and necessary. Tribal courts have almost disappeared today on account of weakening of tribal social control.

Even if they are functioning in some remote end, Kunbis say that they are inadequate for them to regulate their activities and settle their disputes. Therefore, today they prefer to consult the local MLA or the Mandal Pradhan or landlord or upper caste men or as a last resort, go to the modern court of law for settling their disputes and problems. This has further brought about change in the power structure of Kunbi society. The traditional court of justice had proved to be a very effective institution in olden days when Kunbi society was small in size. "The introduction of Panchayat Raj and the state legal system has shaken the tribal mechanism of social control at many places. They further opine that this has created more of confusion among the tribes owing to imposition of a change agency in contravention of native laws"(Mann and Mann 1989:6).Further, Kunbis do not consider it so important to have tulasi in Gaunkar's and ancestral house. Instead, in recent days tulasi plant is grown in the square structure situated in the courtyard of almost every house. It seems, therefore, that the Kunbis have borrowed the form of tulasi worship from Hindus and this is a strong indication of Hinduisation.

It is also observed that formerly there were very few wados among kunbis. Both now, that traditional age old wados are being split into several smaller wado owing to conflicts or differences of opinions. Whenever such rifts take place the dissident group constitutes its own new wado resulting in an emergence of new leaders. While forming a new wado, the Prasad has to be brought from Goan deity after offering worship to their original God. The Prasad is distributed among the new members. This practice has been in force for the past 35 years.

"Certain prominent changes can also be seen with regard to the method of awarding punishments for the violation of traditional rules. Many acts of behavior, which were formerly considered to be objectionable, are not viewed with seriousness in today's society. Eating prohibited types of food is tolerated to some extent. An act of violation like, allowing sticks or Ghumat to fall down or touch the ground at Holi dance is not regarded as an offence. Those who violate the custom of wearing sari in traditional style are not punished. Having a haircut or not keeping a tuft is allowed for men. Primitive forms of rigorous punishments have been given up. An inter-caste marriage or inter-tribal marriage in the case of male member of Kunbi family is almost approved, provided the girl with whom he marries ultimately joins Kunbi group and follows their customs and traditions. But, when a woman marries a non-Kunbi man, she is expelled from the Kunbi group on the ground that she is not likely to come back to her parental community again as she goes out of the group and joins a different community. It is also noticed that in the case of both inter-caste, inter-tribal marriages and adultery, even today many members of Kunbi society still adhere to their traditional rules of awarding punishments and imposing

penalties. The traditional forms of punishment are also extinct today"(Thustorn Edger: 1909:99-100). In the modern Kunbi society, a few enlightened and educated Kunbis have form new organization at different villages with different names similar to the new organizations formed by different caste groups among the Hindus. The details of new organizations have been shown in the following table.

Table: 6.1 New organizations of Kunbis

Name of the organization	Village	Taluka
Gomantak Gawd Maratha Samaj	Panavell	Tiswadi
Gawda, Kunbi and Velip Mahasangh	Raia	Salcet
Kunbi samaj seva sangha	Puttige Padavu	Karkal
Kunbi Samajoddaraka	Althar	Udupi

These new organizations have been established very recently. For instance, Dakshina Kannada Jilla Kunbi Samaja Seva Sangha is an important organization because its area of operation covers the entire district. This organization was established in the year 1972 by Kodiyala Kunbis. Its office is functioning at Kompadavu village in mangalore taluka. The Kunbi samajoddaraka sangha functioning at Altar (yedthady) in udupi taluka was established by Goa Kunbis in the year 1983.

These new organizations differ from the traditional wado in nature, scope, objectives and functions. The office-bearers are selected on the basis of elective principle, in contrast to the traditional hereditary principles. They aim at working for the

progress and development of the entire Kunbi population. Their other objectives include encouragement for cultural programme, educational progress, and service to weaker sections of the Kunbi society, providing medical and educational facilities etc. The meetings are conducted quite often and the notice of the meetings is given to all members through a printed invitation. These organizations hold their executive meetings in the Gaunkar's house. Membership fee is being collected from the members of the organization. A written constitution has been prepared. An effort is also being made to register a few organizations.

Election of office- bearers, budget, implementation of attendance system during the meetings, independent building for the office, organization of sports and cultural activities, service schemes to poor and economically backward families, representation for woman, survey of Kunbi population, mobilizing funds by organizing benefit shows such as Yakshagana, drama etc. were some of the matters discussed in recently held executive meetings. Some organizations hold bhajans, conduct Sathyanarayana pooja (worship offered to lord Sathyanarayana), Annasantharpane (Arranging feast to people) etc, under the influence of neighborer.

Some members of Kunbi society reported that these new organization take a lot of interest in collecting money and they do not actually undertake welfare activities for them. Therefore, those who are unhappy about their style of functioning do not attend the meetings and other activities. It is observed that due to lack of leadership, motivation, absence of proper education, financial constraints, the newly formed organizations are not functioning effectively. However, the formation of new organizations based on democratic principles

and various other activities undertaken by these organizations and the business that is transacted during meetings clearly show that Kunbis are slowly becoming organized and political consciousness is being developed among them. They are today more conscious of their importance and numerical strength.

RESPONDENTS' PERCEPTION AND ASPIRATIONS: In order to find out the respondents towards their awareness, perception, and interest to participate in political fields, the data were collected from them.

Table. 6.2 Expectations of the Respondents from the Govt.

Sr. No	Answer	Number		Percentage	
		D.K.	Goa	D.K.	Goa
1	Scheduled tribe status	20	Nil	20	--
2	Employment opportunities	15	26	15	26
3	Educational Facilities	21	30	21	30
4	Land	06	11	6	11
5	Housing	09	10	9	10
6	Financial Help	07	09	7	9
7	Agricultural benefits	09	05	9	5
8	Water facilities	09	04	9	4
9	No response	04	05	4	5
		100	100	100	100

The data presented in table No. 6.2 reveal that nearly (20%) of them know that their community has not been included in the category of scheduled Tribe by the government. However, the comparative statement of Dakshina Kannada & of Goa is prepared and placed in the table as per their requirement. The study also shows that there are various needs to be fulfilled for their development.

BENEFITS RECEIVING FROM THE GOVERNMENT: The details given in table No. 6.3 show the welfare benefits availed by the respondents from the government. It is observed that 17(17%) were/are receiving widowhood pension. 36(36%) of them said their aged family members were/are receiving old age pension. 8(8%) of them are receiving physically handicapped allowance, where as 7(7%) sample respondents, though eligible for old age pension didn't apply for it owing to lack of awareness in Dakshina Kannada District. Where as in Goa, they availed maximum benefits.

Table. 6.3 Social welfare benefits availed from the Govt.

Sr. No	Type of benefit	Frequency		Percentage (%)	
		D.K.	Goa	D.K.	Goa
1	Old age pension	36	56	36	56
2	Widowhood pension	17	23	17	23
3	Physically handicapped allowance	08	07	8	7
4	Not availed of the benefits	07	03	7	3
5	Not applicable	32	11	32	11

LAND LITIGATION: With regard to the ways of solving land litigation within the family and outside (see Table No. 6.4) a great majority, 35 (17.5%) of the respondents reported that in case such problems occur, they prefer to solve it through compromise with the help of some important persons from their own community or local leader. It is observed that usually the bunts who are the dominant land owning people of the region are consulted for settling the dispute. 73 (36.5%) of them prefer to take the help of tribal courts, 11 (5.5%) of them would solve it through mandal panchayat, whereas 61 (30.5%) of them said they would go to the court of law, while 20 (10%)

of the respondents have not given any specific answer. The study reveals that though majority of the Kunbis, would like to solve their land litigation problem through compromise, a few of them are slowly developing political and modern legal consciousness in this respect.

Table:6.4 Ways of Solving land litigations

Sr No	Ways and methods of solving	Frequency		Percentage	
		D.k.	Goa	D.K.	Goa
1	Through compromise	25	10	25	10
2	Through Tribal Courts	26	47	26	47
3	Govt. Judiciary	25	36	25	36
4	Mandal Panchayat	07	04	7	4
5	Not applicable	17	03	17	3
		100	100	100	100

The respondents were asked whether pradhan and other official of the mandal panchayat of their area visit and help them in getting benefits from the government. Majority of the respondents 128 (64%) said that they do not visit and 72 (36%) said that they visit their settlement. Thus, it is quit clear from the above data that the pattern of visits of mandal pradhan and other officials to Kunbis settlements is quite disappointing.

POLITICAL AWARNESS AND PARTICIPATION: The data show that majority of the respondents are politically conscious. They are becoming aware of their political rights and duties. It is observed that 190 (95%) have voted in the last general elections and the remaining 10 (5%) could not exercise their rights of franchise.

Further the data show that only 144 (72%) respondents are aware about the local MLA and 56 (28%) are ignorant of it which shows that Kunbis do not come in contact with their political representatives. It further reveals that our MLA's and political leaders do not keep in touch with tribes.

It is observed that 178 (89%) of them are the member of one or the other organizations. Among them (see Table No.6.5) 23 (11.5%) of them are the members of co- operative societies, who have become members in order avail of co-operative bank loans. It heartening to see that 23(11.5%) respondents are the members of Mandal panchayat, 34(17%) of them are working as office bearer of Kunbi sangha, 12(5.71%) are the members of various voluntary organizations such as Rastriya Swayam Sevak, Vishwa Hindu Paerishad, Bajana Mandir etc. and 6(3%) of them are the members of Trade union. 48 (24%) respondents are the members of Gomantak Gawd Maratha Samaj and 32 (16%) are the members of Tribal Sangh.

Table No. 6.5 Nature of membership

Sr. No.	Nature of Membership	Answers	Percentage
1	Member of Kudubi Sangha	34	17
2	Member of Gomantak Gawd Maratha Samaj	48	24
3	Member of Co-operative society	23	11.5
4	Member of tribal sangh	32	16
5	Member of Trade Union	06	3
6	Member of Gram/Mandal Panchayat	23	11.5
7	Member of voluntary organization	12	6
8	Not applicable	22	11
		200	100.00

The findings of the present study show that the traditional tribal set up such as the institution of wado or kudukattu, the

role and the importance of Gaunkar, Raibari and Gadya, the significance of ancestral house, etc. are in the process disintegration. It would further indicate a certain disintegration of tribal identity. Similarly the recently developed inclination towards the form of Tulsi worship by every Kunbi family and formation of new organizations similar to the organization formed by different caste groups in the district clearly indicate that Kunbis are in the process of Hinduisation.

It is observed that a significantly high percentage of respondents are not aware of various governmental schemes and benefits. However they are participating in social political activities outside their society, by way of joining various organizations, participating in elections etc. The also show that Kunbis today are gradually developing political outlook and becoming politically more organized and awakened to their rights and duties.

Scheduled Tribe population and its distribution in the state of Goa.

As per the survey conducted by the Goa state commission for Backward classes in the year 2003 total tribal population of the state are 162056, which is 12.2% of the state population. The Taluka wise population is as follow.

Table: 6.6 Taluka – wise distribution of ST population of Goa and its Percentage.

Taluka	**Total Population**	**ST Population**	Percentage
Tiswadi	160091	20755	12.96
Bardez	227695	2647	1.16
Pernem	71999	36	0.05

Bicholim	90734	5080	5.59
Sattari	58613	4159	7.09
Ponda	149441	29622	19.82
North Goa	**758573**	**62299**	**8.21**
Sanguem	64080	15602	24.34
Cancona	43997	13005	29.55
Quepem	74034	25396	34.30
Salcete	262035	37453	14.29
Mormugao	144949	8301	5.72
South Goa	**589095**	**99757**	**16.93**
Goa State	**1347668**	**162056**	**12.02**

Table: 6.7 the details of the clusters of tribal population are as below:

Cluster number	Name of the village	Taluka	Population
01	Khandepar	Ponda	1565
	Usgao	Ponda	2250
	Curti	Ponda	746
	Nirankal	Ponda	452
	Codar	Ponda	159
	Dharbandora	Sanguem	1913
	Codli	Sanguem	1457
			8542
02	Cuncolim	Ponda	720
	Veling	Ponda	724
	Querim	Ponda	2016
	Priol	Ponda	3047
			6507

03	Cundaim	Ponda	1016
	Bandora	Ponda	1759
	Marcaim	Ponda	2393
			5168
04	Panchawadi	Ponda	898
	Shiroda	Ponda	3862
	Borim	Ponda	1532
	Betora	Ponda	1257
			7549
05	Nuvem	Salcete	3760
	Loutolim	Salcete	2213
	Verna	Salcete	2511
			8484
06	Rachol	Salcete	1222
	Curtorim	Salcete	2494
	Raia	Salcete	3233
			6949
07	Davorlim	Salcete	1654
	Sao Jose De Areal	Salcete	2682
	Margao	Salcete	5558
	Aquem	Salcete	958
			10852
08	Ambelim	Salcete	961
	Velim	Salcete	2362
	Chinchinim	Salcete	1096
	Cuncolim	Salcete	1103
			5522
09	Portem	Sanguem	1219
	Colomba	Sanguem	869
	Sancordem	Sanguem	207
	Rivona	Sanguem	1044
	Vichundrem	Sanguem	359
	Verlem	Sanguem	535
	Neturlim	Sanguem	836
	Nundem	Sanguem	504
	Cola	Canacona	2758
			8331
10	Cotigao	Canacona	2271
	Gaodongrem	Canacona	4170
	Canacona	Canacona	2214

CONCLUSION

Many acts of behavior, which were formerly considered objectionable, are not viewed with seriousness in today society by the Kunbis. Moreover, the primitive forms of awarding rigorous punishments to the culprits have been given up now. The traditional authority of Kunbis is in the process of disintegration. Their courts have disappeared today on account of weakening of social control. In the place of political authority, a few organizations have been formed by a few enlightened and educated Kunbis at different villages. These new organizations, which are functioning on the bases of democratic principal, are similar to the organizations formed by different caste groups in the district. These changes indicate that Kunbis are in the process of Hinduisation. It is observed that due to lack of leadership, motivation, absence of proper education and the financial constraints, the newly formed organizations are not functioning effectively. However, the formation of new organizations based on democratic principles and certain activities undertaken by these organizations and the business that is transacted during meeting clearly show that Kunbis today are gradually becoming organized and politically conscious.

There have been changes in the legal system too. Though the majority would like to solve their land litigation disputes through compromise, a few of them are intent on taking such disputes to the court of law. There is an increasing legal consciousness in this respect. However, those who have occupied the positions of power such as Mandal Pradhan and other officials seem to behave like typical peoples"

representatives taking little care of the people they are supposed to lead.

Though the majority of Kunbis are aware of different governmental programmers, significantly high percentage of them still are not aware of their needs, problems and the reasons for their backwardness. However, most of them are politically conscious and awakened to their rights and duties. A few Kunbis are also developing consciousness regarding their importance and numerical strength.

Adoption of Hindu religious ceremonies and festivals, incorporation of Hindu Gods and Goddess and certain minor deities prevalent in local Tulu culture in Kunbi religion, adoption of food habits of Hindus, prohibition of widow remarriage, practice of dowry system, cremation of the dead, adoption of the speech form of neighboring Hindus etc. are found today in Kunbi society. Kunbi women are gradually giving up Gente (Dethali) and started wearing sari in usual Indian style, which they adopted from the neighboring Hindus today. The distinction between a Hinduised section and an orthodox tribal section among Kunbis is also observed in the present study. The formation of various divisions and emergence of the hierarchy within the Kunbi society also resemble the Hindu caste system.

Further, the findings show that due to the influence of modern education, land reforms, legislations, development of transport and communication, market economy, medical assistance, national democratic processes, Panchayat system etc. Kunbis are also in the process of modernization. However, it is to be noted that the influence of the traditional forces like Hinduisation and Sanskritisation is immense in contrast to the

modern forces like education, legislation, transport, and communication etc.

The study reveals that Kunbis of Dakshina Kannada and the Kunbis of Goa are of same stock. We could find some diversity only due to their political boundaries. Today they are undergoing a change due to the trends of Hinduisation and Sanakritisation. The restriction on widow re-marriage in Kunbis society has affected their life and it has emerged as a new marriage problem. The restriction on widow re-marriage has also negatively affected the position of Kunbi women today. The lower marriageable age for girls due to the influence of upper caste Hindus may also be regarded as an undesirable change in Kunbi society. Thus, certain negative aspects of the influence of Hinduisation and Sanskritisation as indicated by Dharmvir and Manral (1990) in the caste of Bhotia tribe can also be noticed in the caste of Kunbis. However, in spite of these changes, Kunbis have not given up many of their traditional ways of life. Hence, tradition and modernity are found together.

REFERENCES

Mann and Mann K., Tribal Cultures & Change, (Mittal, New Delhi, 1989).

Pamecha Renuka, Elites in a Tribal Society, (Printwell, Jaipur, 1985).

Thurston, Edger, Caste and Tribes of South India,(Vol I to VII) (Madras Govt. Press, 1909).

Vidyarthi and Rai, B.K, The Tribal Culture of India, (Concept publication, Delhi, 1977).

CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The main objective of this study was to examine the similarities and the differences between the aborigine tribes of Goa and the Kunbis of Dakshina Kannada District of Karnataka State. This study emphasize on the similarities and the differences amongst the Goan aborigine tribes of Goa and the Kunbis of Dakshina Kannada in terms of their social and cultural life such as dress, dialect, food habits, housing and settlement patterns, education etc. and in family life, marriage, economic organization, religious organization, political organization.

Different methods were used, like participation, observation, and interview to collect the data to achieve desired objectives. Their customs, festivals, dance forms, marriage practices, hunting expeditions etc. were thoroughly studied through participation and observation method.

Moreover, the data were also collected from the different sources such as head of the family, the head of the village community, the local leaders, and senior citizens of the community. Besides these methods, the data were also collected from two hundred respondents out of which one hundred and twenty male and eighty females through interviews using structured and pre-tested schedules. In addition to this discussion, methods were also used wherever

required clarifying the matter. Some information was collected from district census and other records maintained in the Social welfare, Education and Revenue Departments. The data were recorded in the fieldwork diary.

After the completion of fieldwork, the data were processed and tabulated manually in accordance with the requirements of the various aspects of the study. The results of the analysis have been interpreted and on this basis the thesis has been prepared.

Along with the Gawda and Velip in Goa, Kunbis are also listed in the Schedule and they got the status of Schedule Tribe. But, even though the Kunbis of Dakshina Kannada are from same stock, they are in non – scheduled tribes in the State of Karnataka. They are predominantly found in Kundapur and Mangalore taluka and a small percentage of them are found in Udupi and Karkala (Udupi District) and Bantwal taluka in Dakshina Kannada District of Karnataka State. Kunbis are the aboriginal stock of Goa. They came to Karnataka State from Goa about four centuries ago. Having also settled in Uttara Kannada District (called Atte Kunbis) in Karnataka State and some part of Kerala and Maharastra, Kunbis have established themselves as an important tribe of South India. They are socially backward, educationally and economically poor, and politically unorganized. They may be regarded as one of the weakest groups in Dakshina Kannada District.

Largely, the scholarly studies on tribes in India are restricted to Scheduled Tribes. However, there are many ethnic groups and communities like Kunbis and nomadic tribes like Halakki, Okkaligas, Ladakkis, Dombaris, Lambanis etc., which have distinctly tribal features but are not "Scheduled".

The neglect of such tribes by scholars renders their studies inexhaustive. Kunbis are tribes and their social and economic position is as low as the other tribes in Karnataka. Nevertheless, they have not been included in the list of 'Scheduled Tribes' by the Government.

It is important to note that, so far, no systematic empirical study has been conducted on Kunbis of Dakshina Kannada and the aboriginal tribes of Goa. Hence, a comprehensive scholarly work on the life and problems of Kunbis is not available. However, a few articles and write-ups published in regional and national newspapers as well as a few reports in District Gazetteers and State Manuals are available, which show that the Kunbis have attracted the attention of journalists and a few early ethnographers. Some of these facts and problems prompted the selection of Kunbi tribes for the present study. The study shows the similarities between the Kunbis and the aboriginal tribes of Goa in respect of their life viz. social, cultural, religious, economic, and political. More specifically the following are the major findings of the study.

Like the other section of the society the Kunbis are traditionally divided into several sections. It is observed that, today a few Kunbis excommunicated from Kunbi society have formed their own new group known as 'Jati Kunbis' thus giving birth to an additional sub-division. The name of the Kunbi sub-divisions clearly indicates that these divisions were formed after they settled down in Dakshina Kannada District. Like many tribes in India, Kunbis live in villages. They have formed their own separate settlements and hutments within the village. The housing conditions of the majority of the Kunbis are poor. A significant proportion of them are living in very poor dwellings.

The Kunbis of Goa speak a dialect of Konkani where as the Kunbis of Dakshina Kannada speak Kannada or Tulu as both are local languages. However, many words are used from Mundari language by both of them with a similar meaning, which belongs to the family of Indo-Aryan languages. It has become a distinct dialect owing to their isolation for centuries from other communities speaking Konkani. It is observed that the Kunbi dialect is undergoing a change owing to the influence of local speech forms and culture is true but in some respect they maintained their distinct feature. They are gradually abandoning their original dialect and adopting local Kannada or Tulu as their mother tongue. It could be a sign of a gradual erosion of their tribal identity. Moreover, various Sanskrit words used by the upper caste Hindus are often heard in their talk, which indicates the on-going process of Hinduisation. The study shows that they use different languages due to the political boundaries and also to over come from the administrative difficulties. It is important to note that, some of the words used by both the community from Goa and Dakshina Kannada are still in practice.

Since past Kunbis depended upon forests for their food and hence did not use grains and vegetables. There are certain restrictions regarding food habits owing to various beliefs and food taboos. Though they are non-vegetarians, it is surprising to note that they used to avoid eating the flesh of animals reared at home. The animal, which are hunted for food, are considered sacred and venerated. However, effects of changes in the modern society can be seen clearly on their food habits. Today, rice (particularly boiled rice) has become the staple food and the uses of grain and vegetables are common among Kunbis. As a result of deforestation and reservation of forest, the use of nutritious forest produces is declining.

Regarding health, Kunbis of both the places are facing major problems about their ill health. The study shows that, there are some who suffer from fatal diseases caused by unhygienic living conditions, lack of access of clean water and malnutrition. Consumption of alcohol has affected the health of many Kunbis and caused certain infectious diseases. It is observed that the number of people suffering from tuberculosis is more among the Kunbis than among other communities in their villages. A large number of Kunbis today consult both religious specialists and modern doctors for the treatment of diseases and believe that the diseases are mainly due to the influence of supernatural elements and evil spirits. This shows that although the majority of the Kunbis are superstitious, they have started consulting the modern doctors.

The women wear saris in the Dethali (Gente) fashion. The normal dress of a Kunbi male is a dhoti worn around the waist. It is observed that a good percentage among them has given up their traditional dresses and wear modern dresses. They are also found using cosmetic as a result of their contact with people of other communities. The literacy rate in Goa much higher than that of Karnataka but Educationally, Kunbis are backward. There is no much difference in educational status of Kunbis of Dakshina Kannada District. However, when there is a comparison of educational level of the Kunbis with that of their parents and the children, it can be noticed that the educational level of their children has improved. It is important to note that a good percentage of Kunbis have expressed their desire to educate their children at least up to high School.

Even in the present scenario, though majority of them do not subscribe to newspapers, sizeable number read newspapers. It shows that Kunbis are gradually allowing themselves to be exposed to newspapers and other means of communication in modern society. The study on frequency of visits to villages and tours by Kunbis shows that contact and interaction of the Kunbis with the other people are increasing and consequently the Kunbis are being exposed at modernization.

Due to the modernization and the westernization structure of the family of Kunbis has been transforming itself into nuclear from joint family in the present day society. It is observed that, even though the Kunbi joint family is in transition, there are a few houses within which several nuclear families live. In such houses the nuclear families cultivate the land separately and cook and dine separately though the ancestral land is not legally divided. However, the land is informally divided and cultivated separately by the brothers, with an oral agreement. Many such families are found especially among Goan Kunbis. Owing to economic backwardness, they cannot afford to construct their own separate houses. If the houses are too small and cannot be partitioned, then only the sons may go a little away to have a separate house.

Property is concerned, a large proportion of Kunbis are in favour of division of property. Moreover, the majority of them prefer their family to be small and approve of their sons forming a separate family. The families of Kunbis are patriarchal and patrilineal. They have a well –organized lineage system called Kutumb. It is observed that the emotional attachment of Kunbi with their Kutumb is declining

today. There is division of work according to age and sex in Kunbi families. The work of men is generally confined to outdoor activities while women generally do their household duties, which will be assisted by their unmarried girls. Male children also help their father in hunting and shopping. Although strong kinship bonds and obligations can be seen among the Kunbis, they are weakening in modern time due to the influence of urbanization and modernization processes. Kunbis practice endogamy and kinship exogamy. The different divisions or sub-tribes among the Kunbis are endogamous.

The existence of phratry system among Kunbis shows that phratries are not uncommon among South Indian tribes. Kunbis are divided into several exogamous clans. These clans are patrilineal and can be classified as totemistic, territorial, and professional. Clans are named variously. Though clans among Kunbis differ from one sub-tribe to another, there are some similar clans commonly found among all the sub-tribes. Some Kunbis have adopted new clans now. Some clan names are the names of Maratha families, names of villages of Maharastra and Goa region. Totemism with predominantly inanimate totems is an important feature of Kunbi clan organization. However, next to inanimate totems, the predominance of animal totems cannot be ignored. But today, they do not follow clan rules strictly and their clan totems are rarely worshipped. Many younger members of Kunbi society have even forgotten their clans.

The kinship terminology of Kunbis is classificatory and descriptive. It is observed that they have adopted kinship terms from local language and from the Hindu castes. Thus, there is an impact of Hinduisation on the kinship terminology of Kunbi. The study of nomenclature shows that the Kunbi name

are of primitive type and also that there is an association between the names of Kunbis and their totemistc clans. However, Kunbis today prefer to use Hindu Sanskrit names or names of Hindu deities for their children.

Though, traditionally the ancestral property was regarded as indivisible, today it is divided in the presence of elderly Kunbis, sometimes neighbors, and other knowledgeable persons in a meeting. Descent among the Kunbis is patrilineal and inheritance too is in the male line. It is seen that no significant changes have taken place in the rules governing the process of partition and inheritance. Avoidance, joking relationship, Synonymy and avunculate are some of the kinship practice, which are found among Kunbis. Although Couvade is not widely practiced among Kunbis, certain practices resemble the usage of Couvade. In the system of Avunculate, the maternal uncle who occupied a privileged position in Kunbi life earlier has almost lost his importance today.

They maintain the status of women among the Kunbis of Dakshina Kannada District as well as the Kunbis of Goa. It can be observed at the time of religious rituals. Overall, some of the trends are indicative of disintegration of traditional Kunbi family organization. Though the general rule among the Kunbis is tribal endogamy, marriage between Kunbi sub-divisions is prohibited. Thus a system of sub-tribe endogamy is also observed. Monogamy is predominant among the Kunbis, while polygamy and polyandry are strictly prohibited. Bali exogamy and often village exogamy are observed among various sub-divisions. It is found that cross-cousin marriage and sorority are preferred for establishing marriage relationship. To select their mates, Kunbis practice various ways of marriages such as marriage arranged by parents (by

settlement), marriage by purchase, marriage by exchange, marriage by test, and marriage by Hindu rites.

There is a change in some extent in the institution of marriage among the Kunbis while the basic matrimonial and certain preference like Bali exogamy, tribal and sub –tribe endogamy, sorority unions etc. continue. Though some of the traditional rites and customs have survived at some places, their marriage rituals have been greatly affected and modified by the modernization process. The study reveals that earlier Kunbis had a system of phratry called Hodbood, which was exogamous. However, the strict observance of both clan and phratry exogamy has been given up.

Marriage is not conducted without the payment of bride price. The bride price called Tera or Karalik or Hundo, is given to the bride and bride's party in the form of money and articles. However, it is interesting to note that some gifts in the form agricultural and hunting implements are presented to the bridegroom by the father of the girl. The study shows that today, there no much difference in traditional rules of bride price have the amount of money and gift offered in the form of bride price has increased recently. Besides bride price, today, Kunbis have also adopted the system of dowry under the influence of caste Hindus. Though, the study on the attitude of Kunbis towards bride price and dowry shows that the majority of them favour the existing system of bride price, the system of dowry is gaining importance.

The Kunbis had more advanced views regarding the age of marriage for girls. But, the marriageable age for girls became lower later under the influence of upper caste Hindus. However, the data indicate a tendency towards increase in the

age of marriage for girls. Today, the average age at marriage for girls in the opinion of respondents should be 21 years. In olden days, the marriage among Kunbis was quite simple. But, it has become complex with different types of complicated rites and rituals adopted from Hindus. Kunbis observe different preliminary and pacificator acts and rituals and a few rituals and a few rituals after the marriage. However, certain rituals acts such as giving oil bath to the bride and the bridegroom, planting a tree etc. are performed only as a formality or fun in these days.

The Brahmin priest is invited to officiate at the marriage ceremony. Dhare is an important ritual act performed in a Kunbi marriage today. They have adopted these practices from the upper caste Hindus. The importance is given to Gaunkar and Raibari at Kunbi marriages. The sad ceremonial songs sung by bride's women and close relatives at the customary act of sending the bride away with the groom's party may be described as 'weeping ritual,. The ritual acts associated with throwing or filling of rice and paddy symbolize the beginning of a householder, fertility, and prosperity. Numerous tribal studies have shown that tribes have a liberal attitude towards sex. But, in our study, we found that the Kunbi bridal couple is expected to live separately without sex act for sometime after the marriage. It shows that tribes use to have considerable taboos on sex at their marriages. However, such traditional conjugal norms are not strictly observed today. The marriage ceremony among Kunbis mostly takes place during monsoon as large number of families depends heavily on casual unskilled labour and agricultural work. In olden days, widow remarriage was permitted among the Kunbis. But owing to Sanskritisation and Hinduisation process there are restrictions on widow

remarriage now. Nevertheless, today, a few enlightened and progressive members of Kunbi society are encouraging widow remarriage. This, in their attitude indicates that, Kunbis today, are becoming more progressive.

The Kunbis practice a religion, which can be called animistic. Kunbis believe that some sort of supernatural elements and spiritual as well as magical power regulate their life. They believe in the presence of supernatural powers in crops, oven, place of cooking, hunting operations, seedlings, forest, earth, ancestral worship etc. Although, divorce is not normally permitted among the Kunbis, a few cases of divorce are reported in recent decades. Marriages between distant kin groups from distant places also take place although it was prohibited by them earlier. It is observed that, at some places clan exogamy is not strictly observed as the younger generation has almost forgotten their clans. A few cases of inter-caste marriages were also found during the present study.

Kunbis worship different deities, spirits, and ghosts (bhootas). It is observed that, besides propitiating and venerating their own personal deities and spirits, they have also adopted some spirits; ghosts and minor deities from local Hindus. Here we perceive the influence of local bhoota worship of Tulu culture on Kunbis. Apart from having faith in animism, Kunbis also practice Hinduism were as some Kunbis of Goa practice Christianity by venerating and worshipping Gods and Goddesses. Among Kunbis, a hierarchy of deities can be constructed in the following manner. For them goddess 'Durga' or mother deity of Goa is the holiest deity and the Goan Lord Mallikarjuna, the deity worshipped at Gaunkar's house, the deity kept in their respective houses constitute second, third and fourth holiest deities respectively. (The holy

places of these deities are also assessed accordingly by the Kunbis) This can be explained in terms of theometry (a measurement of gods and goddesses) and Kshetrometry (a measurement of sacred or holy places) as propounded by K B Dabade (1998). Mythological gods and goddesses local gods and regional popular gods occupy the next places in the hierarchy of deities.

It is observed that worship of tulsi and construction of tulsikatte in the courtyard of a Kunbi house is a recent phenomenon. They also practice dendrolatry. However, the tulshikatte is built only in the courtyards of the houses of those Kunbis who are more Hinduised. Besides dendrolatry, the practice of Zoolatry is also found among the Kunbis. However, the practice of worshipping animal forms during marriages is fast disappearing. Oven is sacred and venerated by the Kunbis. Similarly, hunting expedition is believed to be an important sacred worship offered to God. Kunbis do not have a well-organized priesthood. The head of the family or the Gaunkar acts a priest coming from Goa to pay visits to their settlements away from Goa shows that the affinity and emotional bondings are still alive between the Kunbis of Dakshina Kannada and those of Goa.

Animal sacrifices amongst the Kunbis could be found very rarely, since they do not eat the flesh of animals reared in the household. And even if they kill animals on some special occasions, slaughtered animal is given away to the neighboring lower-caste Hindu people. However, coconut is the most common thing offered in almost all sacrificial matters among the Kunbis. The ancestor worship forms an important part of Kunbi religion. Ancestor spirits are invoked and worshipped

annually or once in two years in some places. The death anniversary is very well marked and is called Mall/Mala - karya.

The study shows that majority of Kunbis are superstition bound and religious and want their children to be religious minded, participate in religious practices and rituals and continue the tradition in the future. Magic has an important place in Kunbi religion. However, the young generation among the Kunbis is reportedly becoming less religious. Kunbi religion is also characterized by the institution of Totemism. A large number of clans are totemistic. Out of about 105 clans, 48 clans appeared to be totemistic. Clan totems include animal totems, plant totems, individual totem, clan deity, and some inanimate objects. Figures of some animals are venerated at Kunbi marriages. Disturbing or hurting a rat snake and killing certain birds are taboos. During Holi festival rabbit is killed and eaten as a totem feast.

Kunbis observe different types of pre-natal, childhood and puberty rituals, which are almost similar to the rituals of upper caste Hindus. Although Kunbis of Goa those who follow the Christianity observe the different rituals. The most common rituals observed by the Kunbis is puberty ritual, ritual of first pregnancy, birth rituals such as childhood, naming ceremony, ear piercing and the death ritual. The use of Panchanga through Brahmin priest is also found in a few Kunbi families, which may be regarded as a sanskritising agent. Traditionally, though no initiation is observed among Kunbis a few instances of sacred thread ceremony have been found. Such instances point at the influence of Sanskritisation.

Various Kunbi rites, rituals, and worship are highly sanskritised today. The burial of the dead has been the general custom of the Kunbis in the past.

Along with their festivals they celebrate Hindu festival by the Kunbis. But the manner and purpose of celebration of these festivals are slightly different among Kunbis. The religion and festivals of Kunbis are very much influenced by Hindu religion and festivals. This is another instance of Hinduisation. Of all the festivals, Holi is the most important for them. It is mainly celebrated to worship mother deity or Goan-Amma. In some places with the mother deity, Lord Mallikarjuna of Goa is also venerated. During Holi, Kunbis don their traditional costume and perform different types of dance. These dance have their own varieties and variations with specific songs sung in Kunbi dialect. There are hundreds of folk and devotional songs related to the stories from past. Kunbi men in their traditional attire go from place to place performing Holi dance, which suggest their nomadic nature. The fact that Kunbis believe that they incur the wrath of evil spirits if the hunting expedition is not conducted immediately after the Holi festival shows that they are superstitious.

It is important to note that today the more Hinduised sections among Kodiyala Kunbis have constructed at various places in the district their own temples similar to those of Caste Hindus. Apart from the temples, a few Bhajan Mandir have also been established by them. The performance of various magical acts and oracles is declining. Collective singing and dancing are also becoming rare. Though Holi is the most important festival, the Jati Kunbis are not to celebrate Holi festival and perform Holi dance. Nada Kunbis seem to have forgotten the celebrations of Holi and its dance forms.

Are Kunbis, today do not perform Toninach and Dorinach, one of the important dance forms of Kunbis which is almost forgotten. In fact, Holi festival today is performed like a public function with a lot of changes due to modernization and Hinduisation processes. Influence of the head –man of other dominant Hindus castes like Bunts, and the impact of the costumes of local Yakshagana are founding the celebration of Holi festival among the Kunbis. A few enlightened young men of Kunbi society against their traditional norms have also established an organization of Kunbi dancers and musicians.

Economically, Kunbis are backward. For a long time, they used to shift their dwellings from forest to forest; practicing shifting cultivation as a result, they are economically backward. However, today they have settled down as agriculturists and labourers. Like many other Indian tribes, Kunbis have a mixed economy. For their livelihood they depend on almost all available economic means such as plough cultivation, hunting, collecting minor forest produces, handicrafts, animal husbandry, selling medicinal herbs and roots. When forest was their abode, they obtained their economic goods and other requirements from the forest around them, by way of shifting cultivation and food gathering. However, because of various factors such as new forest policy, deforestation and other modernization processes, the Kunbis are slowly alienated from the forest and have settled down in hilly and plain regions in the villages.

Selling medicinal herbs is an important occupation of Kunbis, particularly of Kodiyala section. However, deforestation, utilization of land for agriculture and construction of houses, roads, well and such other activities have resulted in the destruction of medicinal plants. This has

resulted further in gradual extinction of traditional occupations such as serving as village medicine men, collection, and sale of herbs and roots from the forest. Hunting and fishing, though they cannot be regarded as their main occupations now, do supplement their food to some extent. All the hunting implements are made by them or procured from their neighboring tribesmen.

However, today hunting is practiced only as a ritual or a pastime. Due to the restrictions imposed on collecting wood from the forest, they are finding it hard to get fibers, creepers and other raw materials for making nets in a traditional way. Consequently, they have started using nylon threads for making both hunting and fishing nets. The division of joint families into independent households has affected the practice of collecting among Kunbis.

The restrictions on hunting and scarcity of animals have also affected the hunting activities. It is interesting to note that the Kunbi youth are ignorant of making and traditional methods of hunting. It is important to note that, besides preparation of certain hunting and fishing materials, as well as agricultural implements, the skill of Kunbis is also recognized in handicrafts such as basket works and mat making. The handicrafts made by them can be classified as ritualistic, utilitarian, and individualistic. The poles, Gumat, sticks used for Toni, plumes are some of the ritualistic articles used in their services of rituals, dance etc. Their basketwork denotes the utilitarian type of craft, whereas, weaving net and mat making are individualistic crafts. However, today mat making and the very essential basketwork are continued and rest of the crafts has been given up. The present generation among the Kunbis has not learnt their traditional crafts.

They accept the idea of private ownership of land recently. The Kunbis settled in hilly and plain region are engaged in agriculture as tenants or landowners. The study shows that the majority of the Kunbis families possess less than one acre of arable land and the area of the land under non-arable category is large in the Kunbi families. The un-irrigated and non-cultivable land possessed by the Kunbis is an important cause for poor economic condition. The implementation of land reforms Act of 1961 in Karnataka has enabled many Kunbi tenants to acquire land from their masters though what they have lost is more than what they have gained. In olden days, their crafts and the food articles such as paddy, pulses, and vegetables were not sold in the market for cash but were bartered for other goods. But today, a shift from barter economy to market economy can be seen in Kunbi society.

The Kunbis are becoming increasingly aware of one or the other type of modern agricultural methods though some are yet using primitive methods for various reasons. In almost every village there is an acute shortage of water for Kunbis both for drinking and agricultural practices. It is observed that in many low-income families the domestic animals are poorly kept. Majority of the Kunbis are not aware of the financial assistance and subsidy facility for the purchase of livestock. It is evident though the majority is dependent on land and agriculture; they are also dependent on other sources for livelihood such as manual labour, beedi rolling, government service and handicrafts.

The fact that today Kunbis use metal utensils as well as modern household articles and that they are capable of buying

radios, tape-recorders and in some cases even television, shows that their economic condition is improving and they are enjoying better standard of living. Obviously, they have developed taste for civilized entertainment and have access to modern mass media. Housing conditions of Kunbis are still far from satisfactory. Most houses are sub-standard and poorly constructed. Poverty and lack of awareness about housing and better living seem to be the causes for sub-standard housing among the Kunbis.

Also, it is depressing to note that a large majority of them have not yet got electricity connections. A very large majority of them do not own flush out lavatory facility and still they do not consider modern sanitary facilities as very essential.

Many have given up their traditional occupations and accepted new occupations. They are gradually developing entrepreneurship. The average family income shows that Kunbis are below the poverty line. The use of liquor, beedi smoking spend thriftiness on festive occasions, increasing amount of bride price and the practice of dowry system are contributing to their socio-economic backwardness. The poor economic condition of Kunbis is mainly due to lack of education, lack of irrigational facilities, and lack of knowledge about modern agricultural methods and partly due to possessions of non-cultivable dry land the non-availability of benefits extended to Scheduled Tribes. The occupational aspirations of Kunbis for their children are not ambitious. Today, Kunbis are gradually becoming aware of the significance of savings in their economic life. Kunbis have a well-organized governing body or a council to regulate the

political and social activities and codes of conduct in spite of the fact that for centuries they were living in forests away from the mainstream of population.

Many acts of behavior, which were formerly considered objectionable, are not viewed with seriousness in today's society by the Kunbis. Moreover, the primitive forms of awarding rigorous punishments to the culprits have been given up now. The traditional authority of Kunbis is in the process of disintegration. Their courts have disappeared today on account of weakening of social control. In the place of political authority, a few organizations have been formed by a few enlightened and educated Kunbis at different villages. These new organizations, which are functioning on the bases of democratic principal, are similar to the organizations formed by different caste groups in the district. These changes indicate that Kunbis are in the process of Hinduisation. It is observed that due to lack of leadership, motivation, absence of proper education and the financial constraints, the newly formed organizations are not functioning effectively. However, the formation of new organizations based on democratic principles and certain activities undertaken by these organizations and the business that is transacted during meeting clearly show that Kunbis today are gradually becoming organized and politically conscious.

There have been changes in the legal system too. Though the majority would like to solve their land litigation disputes through compromise, a few of them are intent on taking such disputes to the court of law. There is an increasing legal consciousness in this respect. However, those who have occupied the positions of power such as Mandal Pradhan and other officials seem to behave like typical peoples"

representatives taking little care of the people they are supposed to lead.

Though the majority of Kunbis are aware of different governmental programmers, significantly high percentage of them still are not aware of their needs, problems and the reasons for their backwardness. However, most of them are politically conscious and awakened to their rights and duties. A few Kunbis are also developing consciousness regarding their importance and numerical strength.

The Kunbi women are gradually giving up Gente (Dethali) and started wearing sari in usual Indian style, which they adopted from the neighboring Hindus today. The distinction between a Hinduised section and an orthodox tribal section among Kunbis is also observed in the present study. The formation of various division and emergence of the hierarchy within the Kunbi society also resemble the Hindu caste system

Further, the findings show that due to the influence of modern education, land reforms, legislations, development of transport and communication, market economy, medical assistance, national democratic processes, Panchayat system etc. Kunbis are also in the process of modernization. However, it is to be noted that the influence of the traditional forces like Hinduisation and Sanskritisation is immense in contrast to the modern forces like education, legislation, transport, and communication etc.

The study reveals that Kunbis of Dakshina Kannada and the Kunbis of Goa are of same stock. We could find some diversity only due to their political boundaries. Today they are

undergoing a change due to the trends of Hinduisation and Sanakritisation. The restriction on widow re-marriage in Kunbis in the society has affected their life and it has emerged as a new marriage problem. The restriction on widow re-marriage has also negatively affected the position of Kunbi women today. The lower marriageable age for girls due to the influence of upper caste Hindus may also be regarded as an undesirable change in Kunbi society. Thus, certain negative aspects of the influence of Hinduisation and Sanskritisation as indicated by Dharmvir and Manral (1990) in the caste of Bhotia tribe can also be noticed in the caste of Kunbis. However, in spite of these changes, Kunbis have not given up many of their traditional ways of life. Hence, tradition and modernity are found together.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

1. An intensive research is needed in the field of herbal drugs and the medicinal plants used by the aboriginal tribes of Goa and the Kunbis of Karnataka.

2. A detailed study on Cultural and Sociology of Folklore in the areas of Kunbi dance forms and Folklore.

3. A comparative study of Kunbi dialect with Konkani and Mundari language spoken by other communities can be undertaken by the Folklore Anthropologists and Linguistic.

4. 'The aboriginal tribes of Goa and the changes in their tradition', ethnological study can be undertaken.

5. A detailed study of 'The aboriginal tribes of Goa' in respect to the development in the field of Education, economy, social, politics etc.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. In the part of the Government, there is an urgent need to extend the benefits of Tribal Development Schemes to the Kunbis of Karnataka by including them in the category of Scheduled Tribes.

2. The Kunbis are basically engaged in agricultural activities. To improve their economic condition there is a need to improve agricultural activities among Kunbis by providing all sorts of infra-structural facilities and the training.

3. The Govt. and the NGO'S may come forward to extend financial help for the preservation and development of these tribal art and culture.

4. In Goa, it is a need to form the Tribal Ministry, so that the Govt. can plan the activities independently and implement the same in more effective way for the welfare of the tribal society.

5. The detailed official survey of tribal people of Goa state is to be conducted and maintained, as the official detailed record about them is not available.

6. Govt. should plan and implement developmental activities without hampering their aborigines.

7. Kunbis along with the other tribes should be made aware of the importance of education,

8. Health and Hygiene, nutrition, education etc, basically female education should be encouraged. There is a need to motivate Kunbi children to go to School regularly.

APPENDIX - I

LIST OF PLANTS, THE PARTS OF WHICH ARE USED BY KUNBIS IN VARIOUS CONTEXTS - I

(Such as: Rituals, occupation, clan names, dietary system etc.)

Sr. No.	Name in Kunbi dialect	English	Kannada	Parts used
1.	Ovala	West Indian Meddler	Renje	Flower
2.	Olsande	Cow Rea	Alasendekodu	Fruit
3.	Wayange	Brinjal	Badane	Fruit
4.	Ponusul	Jack	Gujje	Fruit
5.	Rumdiruk	Fig	Attikai	Branch
6	Savriruk	Red silk cotton tree	Kempu Booruga	Branch
7	Surangi	Alexandrian Laurel	Suragi	Flower
8	Shevati	Chrysanthemum	Sevantige	Flower
9	Tulas	Sacred Basil	Tulasi	Leaves
10	Mirya	Common chilly	Menasu	Fruit
11	Tendla	----------	Tondekai	Fruit
12	Haladi	Turmeric	Arashina	Leaves,Tuber
13	Bhinda	Indian Gamboge	Ounerhuli	Fruit
14	Bootparangi	Century	Parangi	Fibre
15	Karmbalruk	Dog Teak	Kaduganigalu	Leaves, Fruits
16	Jay	Spanish Jasmine	Jaji	Flower
17	Goyinta	----------	Garalkai	Fruit
18	Chibad	Musk Melon	Ebbadalu	Fruit
19	Kaz	Cashew	Geru	Seed
20	Kapoos	Cotton	Hatti	Flower
21	Kuvalo	Ashgourd	Kashikumbala	Fruit
23	Karate	Bittergourd	Hagalakai	Fruit
24	Maddi	Arecanut	Adike	Stem clan name

25	Aboli	Unarmed orange nail Dye	Abbalige	Flower
26	Tero	Taro	Kesu	Leaves, Tuber
27	Ambo	Mango	Mavu	Fruit, Tree
28	Katekanga	Tapioca	Maragenasu	Tuber
29	Maad	Coconut	Tengu	Tree
30	Bhende	Ladies finger	Bhende	Fruit
31	Bonok/Bonaki	Screw pine	Mundangi	Leaves
32	Maguri	Jasmine	Mallige	Flower
33	Bidima	Sweetbourd	Shiumbala	Fruit
34	Duguldoopa	Malabar Ailanto	Goggala	Wax
	Kanga	Sweet Potato	Genasu	Tuber

Medicinal Plants / Trees used by Kunbis - II

Sr.	Name in Kunbi	Botanical Name	Name in Kannada	Parts Used
1	Somarber	Croton oblongifolius	somarber	Root & Bark
2	Soonthganti	Andrographis paniculata	Kirakaddi	Root
3	Rumderook	Ficus racemosa	Attimara	Leaves, bark
4	Rangerook	Sapindus laurifolius	Yaiti	Seed, Bark
5	Pagle	Antidesma menasu	Madagala	Tuber
6	Pinari	Sterculia foetida	pinari	---------
7	Niros	----------	Nirosi	Root
8	Nank	Tabernaemontana	Nandibatlu	Root
9	Nelekonle	Elephantopus nscaber	Nelekonne	Rroot
10	Kariyarook	Strychnos nux-vomica	Kasanmara	Tender leaves
11	Kegath	Pandanus odoratissimus	Kedage	Root
12	Lingte	Vitex negundo	Nukki	Tender leaves
13	Lodandi	Ixora brachiata	Kadusuragi	Leaves
14	Mogri	Jasminum sambac	Dundumallige	Bud, root
15	Maskarook	Moringa Oleifera	Nuggikette	Bark
16	Moosasoap	Aloe indica	Noninasoppu	Root
17	Taikilo	Cassia tora	Chaktimara	Leaves

18	Tumbo	Leucas lavandulifolia	Tumbe	Leaves
19	Surgi	Mammea suriga	Suragi	Bark
20	Santanerook	Alstonia scholaris	Halemara	Bark
21	Dooparook	Vateria Indica	Dhupadamara	Bark
22	Hundrakan	Emilia sonchifolia	Elikivi	Leaf
23	Huro	Sapium insigne	Kampti	Bark
24	Jambleerook	Syzygium cumini	Nerale	Leaves
25	Jagmajad	Fflacourtia Indica	Doddamadligida	Fruits
26	Khaskuli	Trragia hispida	Naichunke	Root
27	Kodolipana	Clerodendrum viscosum	Taggisoppu	Branch
28	Karathe	Momordica charanti	Hagalakai	Leaves
29	Kalijire	Centrantherum	Kaljeerige	Seed
30	Churna	Ziziphus rugosa	Bremergutti	Leaf & root
31	Amruthwal	Tinospora cordifolia	Amruthaballi	Stem

APPENDIX- II

LIST OF ANIMALS BIRDS ASSOCIATED WITH KUNBIS IN VARIOUS CONTEXT

(Such as Totem, worship, clan and Food habits)

Sr	Name in Kunbi	Zological Name	Name in English	Name in Kannada
1	Keer	Psittacula Krameri	Rose-winged Parakeet	Gili
2	Kuttro	Canis domestraes	Dog	Nayi
3	Ghodo	Equu cabalus	Horse	Kudure
4	Gaai	Bos sp	Cow	Dana
5	Divoad	Ptyas mucosus	Rat Snake	Kere
6	Chani	Funambulus palmarum	Squirrel	Enachi
7	Hatti	Elephas maximus	Elephant	Ane
8	Ran Dukkar	Sus cristatus	Wild Pig	Kuduhandi
9	Mudashi	Sillago Sihama	Lady fish	Kane
10	Sal	Hystrix leucura	Porcupine	Chippuhandi
11	Soso	Oryctolagus cuniculus	Rabbit	Mola
12	wagh	Panthera tigris	Tiger	Huli
13	Kurli	Circinus sp.	Crab	Yedi
14	Mor	Pavo cristatus	Peafowl	Navilu
15	Makod	Macaca radiata	Bonnet Monkey	Manga
16	Gavo reddo	Bos gaurus	Indian Bison	Kadukona
17	Pisai	Tragulus meminna	Small Mouse Deer	Barka
18	Oont	Camelus dromedarius	Camel	Oont
19	Shiw	Panther a Leo	Lion	Simha
20	Chital	Axis axis	Spotted Deer	Jinke
21	Gar	Varamus monitor	Monitor Lizard	Uda
22	Ghon	Haliatur Indus	Eagle	Haddu
23	Rankolo	Gallus	Wild wolf	Kaduoli
24	Undeer	Rattus rattus	Rat	Eli

APPENDIX - III
THE LIST OF THE WORDS FROM MUNDARI LANGUAGE USED BY THE ABORIGINE TRIBES OF GOA IN THEIR LOCAL LANGUAGE.

Original words from Mundari with the meaning

1. Aji–grandmother
2. Ajmao–toexamine
3. Aoa-Sound
4. Aosar-Chance
5. Asirbad–blessings
6. Atma–spirit
7. Awaj–noise
8. Ayo–mother
9. Bajar – market
10. Bhut – spirit
11. Bhutkheta – land s apart for the worship of Bhut
12. Cha–tea
13. Chadra–clothsheet
14. Chakmak–toshine
20. Dhan - gift
21. Dand - fine
22. Deo - deity
23. Des - country
24. Dhados - fearless
25. Dhando - occupation
26. Dhol - drum
27. Dhoti - cloth
28. Dokan - shop
29. Dookandar - shopkeeper
30. Doskhot - signature
31. Dusman - enemy
32. Gai – cow
33. Ghao - injury

15. Chandi–silver

16. Chandu–moon

17. Dabao–topressdown

18. Dada–elderbrother

19. Dahi–curd

34. Hak - right

35. Jabab - reply

36. Jabrai - forcibly

37. Jadu - magic

38. Malik – owner

APPENDIX - IV
LIST OF THE WORDS FROM MUNDARI LANGUAGE USED BY THE KUNBIS OF KARNATAKA IN THEIR LOCAL KANADA LANGUAGE.

1. Apu–father
2. Ant–end
3 Askati–lazy
4. Asrae–refuge
5. Bad–tosubtract
6. Baid–Physician
7. Bappurkha–ancestors
8. Begage–quickly
9. Bhandar–treasury
10. Bhao–price
11. But-Spirit
12. Birudh–against
13. Biswas–tobelieve
14. Chhama–toforgive
15. Chhuchi–nosepin
16. Cheped–tosuck
17. Deor–husband's
18. Dhara–flowofwater
19. Dhulki–akindof
20. Small drum
21. Dinaki–daily
21. Disa - side
22. Duarsini – door silt
23. Duku - trouble
24. Dursut – to put right
25. Gaj – measuring rod
26. Handa–a big earthen pot
27. Hansa – a swan
28. Hing - asafoetida
29. Husiar - intelligent
30. Idi – to take
31. Husid – to scrape off
32. Jati - caste
33. Janwar - animal
34. Jhola – cloth bag
35. Jhupri- a small straw hut
36. Jumpa – a cluster
37. Karkhana-workshop
Younger brother
38.Ghat– an elevated range
39. Ghanta-bell
40. Kursi – chair

GOA / GOAN KUNBIS - II

1. Gounkar
2. Sangodkar
3. Kuttiker
4. Gouneker
5. Kanker
6. Raiker
7. Mulavi
8. Malik
9. Kankonker
10. Mandreker
11. Kamat
12. Namshiker
13. Borker
14. Mayenker
15. Paliker
16. Madkaikar
17. Gawada
18. Pisurleker
19. Mashelker
20. Gavaus
21. Kholkar
22. Bhomker
23. Bandodker
24. Uniskar
25. Kudkar
26. Shirodker
27. Murgaounker
28. Kunkalker
29. Mattkar
30. Panchawdker

GOAN KUNBIS FOLLOWING CHRISTIANITY - III

1. Gaounkar
2. Culaso
3. Vaz
4. Gawada
5. Mascarenous
6. Souza

APPENDIX - V

LIST OF KUNBI VILLAGES & SETTLEMENTS TALUKA – WISE

A. **Settlements in Goa**

a. PONDA

1. Khandepar
2. Curti
3. Coda
4. Codli
5. Velin
6. Kundaim
7. Marcaim
8. Shiroda
9. Betora
10. Usgao
11. Nirankal
12. Dharbandora
13. Cuncolim
14. Priol
15. Bandora
16. Panchawadi
17. Borim
18. Paz

b. Salcete

1. Nuvem
2. Rachol
3. Raia
4. Sao Jose De Areal
5. Aquem
6. Velim
7. Cuncolim
8. Loutolim
9. Curtorim
10. Davorlim
11. Margao
12. Ambelim
13. Chinchinim
14. Varca

c. SANGUEM

1. Potem
2. Sancordem
3. Vichundrem
4. Neturlim
5. Bhati
6. Colomba
7. Rivona
8. Verlem
9. Nunem
10. Wade

d. CANACONA

1. Cotigao
2. Canacona
3. Chawdi
4. Mastimol
5. Khalwada
6. Gaodongrem
7. Khola
8. Sristhal
9. Ponsulem

e. QUEPEM

1. Avedem
2. Addnem
4. Morpirla
5. Xeldem
6. Zambaulim
7. Cuyamol

f. TISWADI

1. Carambolim
2. Chimbal
3. Donapaula
4. Agasaim

g. SATTARI

1. Murmanem
2. Kankirem
3. Solem
4. Kottoda
5. Nanus
6. Honda

h. Bicholim

1. Gaounker wada
2. Deul wada
3. Mathwada
4. Kalbaiwada

B. SETTLEMENT IN MANGALORE TALUKA

1. Kuttaru Krishna kodi
2. Pavoor
3. Yayyadi
4. Bajjodi
5. Kandila
6. Bolma
7. Kuppepadavu
8. Vodduru
9. Kalpane
10. Mooduperar

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

1. Name & address of the head of the family:
2. Age:20-30 / 31-40 / 41-50 / 51 and above
3. Sex:
4. Sub group:
5. Marital Status: a) Single b) Married c) Widow d) Widower
   e) Divorced f) Separated
6. Occupation: a) Main b) Subsidiary
7. Education: Illiterate / I-IV / V-VII / VIII- X/ P.U.C./Degree/ above Degree
8 Languages Known a) Spoken
   b) Reading/ writing
9 Mother tongue:
10. Type of Family: Nuclear / Joint
11. Details of the members of the family:

Sr. In the order of age	Relationship to the head	Age	Education/ (D/C/ENG)	Occupation place of occupation
1				
2				
4				
5				

12. Educational and Occupational details of Parents / Grand parents:

Sr. No.	Relationship	Education	Occupation
1.	Father		
10.	Father's Father		
11.	Father's Mother		
12.	Mother's Father		
13.	Mother's Mother		
14.	Wife's Father		
15.	Wife's Mother		

13. Sources of Income (Appox. Per year)
    a. Service
    b. Agricultural Products
    c. Domestication & Poultry
    d. Business
    e. Other sources
14. Area under cultivation (in acres): Less than 2/3-4/5-6/7 and above
15. Ownership/Tenant:
16. Would you like to change your present occupation? Yes/No
17. Reasons if any
18. Do you approve of the provision of widow remarriage? Yes /No
19. Reason if any
20. What should be the age of marriage for girls? Below 15/16-20/21-25/26-30.
21. Do you approve of late marriages among your daughters? Yes/No.

22. Do you prefer marrying within your own group? Yes/No

23. Are you in favour of the following practices?
    Dowry: Yes/No Bride price: Yes/No
24. Are you in favour of living in joint Family?
    Yes/No
25. Reasons if any:
26. Are you in favour of division of family property among the children/sons?
    Yes/No
27. What do you think about the size of the family?
28. Do you approve of your sons forming a separate household of their own? Yes/No
29. Type of House: Own/ Rented
30. Tiled / Thatched / Tiled cum thatched
31. Water supply: well / Tap water / Not available
32. Fuel used: Firewood / Gas / Electricity / Kerosene
33. Electricity: A.E.H. /Domestic / Not available
34. Bus facilities: Good / Satisfactory / Not available
35. Lavatory facilities: Flush out / Open air
36. Postal facilities: Adequate / Not available / Not adequate
37. Are you facing any problem in your village? Yes / No
38. Do you consult doctors for the treatment of diseases: Yes /No
39. Do you also consult religious specialists, witch doctors, priests etc. for the treatment of diseases? Yes / No
40. Do you feel that the available educational facilities are adequate? Yes / No
41. Are you in favour of giving education to your children?
42. How far would you like to educate your children?
43. Are you aware of the educational facilities provided by the Govt.? Yes / No

44. What is the source of your awareness?
45. Are you making use of these benefits? Yes /No
46. Are you in favour of educating your daughters? Yes /No
47. What could be the aim of women's education?
    a. To make them literate
    b. For employment
    c. To make them good wives
    d. Good mothers
    e. To make them independent
48. Do you approve of women taking up job in govt. service? Yes /No
49. Are you in favour of distributing your family property to your daughters along with sons? Yes /No
50. Do you consult your wife while taking decisions on family matters? Yes / No
51. Did you vote in the last general election? Yes /No
52. Are you getting newspapers at home? Yes /No
53. If no, do you read newspapers outside home, at shops, library, and neighbor's house etc.? Yes / No
54. If yes, how often? Regularly / Frequently / Occasionally.
55. What do you expect from the govt.?
56. Do you have any deposits / saving with Bank Post office or Co-operative? Yes /No
57. Did you visit neighboring place/villages /towns?
58. Is any member of your family married outside the group/tribe? Yes / No

59. Is there anyone in your family who take alcohol? Yes / No
60. Do you admit pregnant woman to hospitals for delivery? Yes/ No
61. Do you take your children for hospitals for immunization? Yes / No
62. Are you interested in contesting elections? yes /No
63. What is your opinion about elected representatives of your locality?

GLOSSARY

Adisal --- Place of origin (original habitat)
Amba --- Mother –deity; (also Adishakti,Durga)
Ati --- Cowshed (also Gotto)
Bali --- Clan (also Bunka , warg or Boli)
Basinga ---A crown like headdress worn by the bridegroom.
Baglada --- Formal maiden entry of the bride to the groom's house
Bajana Mandira --- A religious centre, meant for community singing of hymns or devotional songs.
Bayika ---A ritual related to first pregnancy.
Beedi --- An Indian cigarette
Boota --- Spirit or ghost
Bootastana --- House of the Boota
Bowndi ---Hunting at a day time
Brahmin ---Priestly Hindu caste
Buffalo Race --- An agricultural tournament of Dakshina Kannada District
Daval --- A ritual performed after the child birth
Diwali --- Festival of light 263
Dhedo ---An elderly responsible relative, who conducts marriages.
Dhare ---Pouring of water over the united hands of bride and bridegroom as an important ritual.
Dharmastal --- A famous Hindu pilgrim centre in Dakshina Kannada District.
Dori-nach--- A rope dance of Kunbis
Ezmani --- An important position assigned to the bride-groom's. father at Kunbi marriage.

Ekadashi--- The eleventh day in any of the two fortnight in a month in the Hindu calendar

Fugadi--- A dance performed by a few old women after the birth of a child

Ghadi---An important religious person who acts as witch doctor, oracle or exorcist for Kunbis.

Ghadpan--- Prayer during the practice of witchcraft or exorcism

Gani --- Song

Gawda --- A Kunbi surname (literal meaning Headman)

Dethli --- Saree worn by Kunbi women in the traditional style

Goari--- A wooden plank used at buffalo race

Gurikara--- Kunbi chieftain or headman (also called Buddvanthgar, Budyanth, Gaovgavdo)

Gundala---An ornament worn on the mid-part of the ear lobe.

Ghumat--- An earthen –pot-drum used as a musical instrument in Kunbi

Holi --- A festival of colours, celebrated during the spring season.

Homa--- A religious rite in which offerings is made to God of fire.

Janave --- A sacred thread.

Jakkani--- Death anniversary or Ancestor worship

Kajjaya --- A sweetened beaten rice

Kaddal --- Courtyard of the house

Karimani--- Necklace of black beads

Kantasara---Neck chain

Kalembi---- A wooden open box used for storing articles

Kalese--- A boat shaped wooden device for drawing water from the pond

Khel--- Play

Kempanna--- A God of hunting

Kolgurikara--- Main singer at Holi dance

Kologuri--- Net used for trapping wild pigs
Kolluru--- A pilgrim centre in Dakshina Kannada District.
Kutumb--- Lineage
Kumeri --- Shifting cultivation
Maddale --- A musical instrument variant of south Indian Mrudanga
Matoli--- A temporary, square shaped bathroom at the time of marriage
Marusese--- Purificatory rituals, like ritual bath observed after the marriage ceremony.
Mangalasutra---Auspicious necklace of married women
Muttale--- A cap made of areca nut sheet
Mura--- A measure for grain (about 40 kilograms)
Nagole--- A marriage ritual related to cobra worship
Naandi---A ritual observed prior to marriage to ward off evils or impurity due to birth or death
Nimbudu Navneshe---Ritual bath
Nooludike--- winding of thread around the bridal couple as a part of ritual
Odlibet--- A complex and big game of hunting (also called Ranabet, kolchebet)
Okalek uklasun divche--- Ceremonial farewell to bride
Panchanga---A Hindu astrological and astronomical calendar
Pan viddo--- An article of betel leaves, areca nut and flower
Porthani---A reception arranged at the bride's house after the marriage
Pavanasara--- Necklace of gold, gold coins
Pavaledall--Necklace of coins (usually 25 paise coins)
Parab--- Festival
Peeduka---An auspicious necklace of blackheads and gold beads worn by Kunbi married women
Prasad--- Sanctified offering distributed to the devotees by the temple priest as a token of blessing of the deity

Raibari---Gaunkar's assistant in Kunbi governing council
Reag --- Shaving rite for men, preliminary ritual act at marriage
Regachi gain--- Songs sung at shaving ritual
Roce--- An act symbolizing purification of the bride & bridegroom Prior to marriage
Saese--- Sprinkling of rice over bridal couple
Samman ---Reception arranged at the groom's house after the marriage
Sanlibet --- A simple or small game of hunting (Sosachebet)
Sangh --- An Organization
Saptapadi--- A ritual in which the bride treads on the foot prints of the bridegroom for steps
Pav--- A measure of one fourth of seer grain.
Sigmo--- Festival
Soirik--- Betrothal
Soseoguri--- Net used for trapping hares and rabbits
Toni---A circular stick dance
Tulashikatte--- A square stone or mud structure in which Tulsi plant is grown
Ujapod--- A sacred mystical verse or hymn chanted at the closing of Holi dance.
Vanabhojan--- A festival to propitiate Mother deity.
Vardikegani--- A wedding song
Vatechedo--- An unmarried young man
Waddo--- Place of the settlement of Kunbis.

Annexure I

No. 13/14/90-SWD (Vol. III).,190
Government of Goa,
Directorate of social Welfare,
Panaji Goa.

Dated: April 22, 2003.

CIRCULAR

Vide Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Order (Amendment) Act, 2002, Published in Gazette of India Dated 8th January 2003, extraordinary, Part II. three communities, viz,

1. Kunbi
2. Gawda
3. Velip

Have been notified as Scheduled Tribes for the State of Goa. The necessary Social Statues Certificates shall be issued to these communities by Competent authorities.

By order and in the name of the
Governor of Goa.

-sd-
(A.K.WASNIK)
Director of Social Welfare
&
Ex-Office Joint Secretary

Copy to:

1. The director, Printing & Stationary, Panaji with a request to kindly publish the above Circular in the Extra Ordinary Official Gazette and send two copies of the publication for official record.
2. Dy. Collector (s) and sub Divisional Magistrate (s).
3. All Heads of the Departments and Autonomous Bodies.
4. Guard file.

Source: Directorate of Social Welfare: Govt. of Goa: 2003

Annexure II

No. 13/14/90-SWD (Vol. II).
Government of Goa,
Directorate of social Welfare,
Panaji Goa.

Dated: April 22, 2003.

Read:-1. Government Order No.13/3/84-LAWD/OBC dated 12.6.87.
2. Government Order No.13/3/84-LAWD/OBC dated 9.7.87.

&

3. Addendum No.13/1/97 –SWD (Vol. III) 4094 dated 6.12.2001.

NOTIFICATION

Government of Goa is pleased to delete the communities appearing at Sr. No.1 & 2 of the Government Order dated 12.6.87 referred at sr. No. 1 above.

Government is also pleased to cancel Order No.13/3/84-LAWD/OBC dated 9.7.87 and Addendum No. 13/1/97-SWD (Vol. III)4094 dated 6.12.2001 referred at Sr. No.2&3 above due to inclusion of the following communities in the list of Scheduled Tribes:

1. Kunbis
2. Gawda
3. Velip

BY ORDER AND IN THE NAME OF THE
GOVERNOR OF GOA
-sd-
(A.K.WASIK)
EX-OFFICEO JOINT SECRETARY&
DIRECTOR OF SOCIAL WELFARE

Source: Directorate of Social Welfare: Govt. of Goa: 2003

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Andrade, Antonio Alberto de, *Many races onenation. The traditional 'Anti-racialism of Portugal's civilizing methods'* (Lisbon:A.G.U, 1954).

Azevedo, Carmo, " The Comunidades de Goa" Vol. II (A India Poruguesa,,197).

Azevedo, Marinho, ' The causes of the captivity of the Canara Christians under Tipu Sultan in 1784',(Pune, AIMH congress, 1936).

Baden –Powell B.H.,' The villages of Goa in the early sixteenth century', (Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, London, 1900).

Borkar, R.,'Sanguem Mahal Itihasik Mahiti Goa',(Bharatmitra, Panaji,1998).

Brown Radcliffe, A.R.,'Structure and Function in Primitive Society', (Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1979).

Brown Radcliffe, A.R, The Andaman Islander, (A social Study, 1922).

Buchanan, Francis, 'A Journey from Madras through the countries of Mysore, Canara and Madra',Vol. III, (Asia Educational Services, New Delhi, 1972).

Chandavarkar, G. A.,'Semitic element in the Konkani language',Vol. IV, (Bombay, 1922).

Chatterji, Suniti Kumar,'Languages & the linguistic problem', (Bombay,O.U.P., 1943).

Chattopadhyay, Kamaladevi, 'Tribalism in India', New India: (Vikas, Pune,1978).

Campbell, James M., 'Gazettee of the Bombay presidency' Vol. I, Part II, History of the konkan, Dekhan and Southern Maratha country, (Bombay, Govt. central press, 1896).

Christoph, von furer-Haimendorf, 'A Himalayan Tribe',(University of California press, 1909).

Chavan, V.P.,'The Konkan and the Konkani Language', (Bombay, Author, 1924).

Correia Luis de Assis, Goa through the Mist of History from 10000 BC-AD 1958, (Maureen publishers Pvt. Ltd., Panaji, ,2006).

Davidson, Sarah & Phelps E, 'Folk tales from New Goa, India', (America, 1937).

Dabade, K.B., 'Sociology of Religion: A case study of Nimbargi Sampradaya', (Mangalore: Magala Publications, 1998).

Desai, A.R., ' Tribes in Transition, Caste & Religion in India', (Delhi: Mac Millan India Ltd., 1977).

Deshprabhu, Vasudeva Atmaram, 'Nagdevache Tamrapat ani Pednyatil 'Varden' gaun',(Nilima Press,Bombay, 1945).

Doshi, S. L and Jain, P.C.,'Social Anthropology', (Japur: Rawat, 2001).

Durkheim, Emile,'The Elementary forms of religious life', (London,1912).

Dikshit, G.S., 'Local self government in medieval Karnatak-Dharwar', (Karnataka University, 1964).

Dhume, A.R.S., ' The cultural History of Goa from 10,000 B.C -1352 A.D'.(Popular Prakashan Panaji, 1985).

Danda, Ajit K.,'Problems of Tribal welfare in India',Vol.9,(Bulletin of the Cultural Research Institute,Vol.9, 1972).

D'Souza, Bento G.,'Goan Society in Transition', A Study of social change, (Popular Prakashan, Bombay, 1975).

Fuchs Stephen, The Aboriginal Tribes, (Mac Millan, Delhi, 1973).

Gomes Olivino J.F, Village Goa (Astudy of Goan Social Structure and change),(S.Chanda & Co.,New Delhi,1987).

Ghatge, A.M.,'Konkan of South Kanara',(A survey of Marathi dialects,Bombay, 1963).

Herskovits Meliville J., Cultural Anthropogy,(Oxford & IBlt, New Delhi).

Katre. S. M.. ' The formation of Konkani'. (Karnatak Pub. House. 1942).

Katre. S.M.. 'Prakrit languages and their contribution to Indian languages'. (Bombay. B.V.B.. 1945).

Kosambi. Damodar Dharmanand. 'Myth and reality'. (Popular Prakashan Pvt. Ltd. Mumbai. 1998).

Karmarkar. A.P.. 'Boundaries of ancient Maharastra and Karnataka'. (Culcutta. 1938).

Karmarkar. A.P.. 'Cultural history of Karnataka'. (ancient and Medieval. Dharwar. K.V.S.. 1947).

Kuppuswamy.B. Social Change in India. (Vikas publication.1977).

Mitragotri. V.R.. 'Socio-Cultural History of Goa'.From Bhojas to Vijaynagar. (Popular Prakashan.1969).

Mhamai. S.K.. 'The Sawants of wadi and Portuguese'. (Concept publishing company. New Delhi. 1984).

Manohar Rai SarDessai. 'A history of Konkani Literature from 1500 to 1992.(Sahitya Akademi Goa. 2000).

Manindra Bhusan Bhaduri. 'A Mundari – English Dictionary'. (Guan Publishing House . New Delhi. 2002).

Mascarenhas. Antonio..The Kudubis. Goa from pre-historic time. Vasco.Post Box No.7.
(clear name of the publication not furnished)

Maria Bernadette. 'Ethnographic & Healing practice in Goa'. Kunbi case. (Goa University.1993).

Meili. Hedwig Bachmann de. 'On the concept of woman and mother in the folklore of Konkan'. (Roma publication.1937).

Maria, Lucy, An Introduction to social Antropology (Second Addition, Oxford,1991).
Nayak, K.D., 'Gomantakiya Sanskritik Ghadan', (Gomant Vidya Niketan, Margao, 1961).
Pereira Rui Gomes,'Goa Hindu Temples and Deities', (Printwell press, Panaji, 1978).
Pereira Gonsalves,'Gomantakiya Hinducho Chaliriti Sambandhi Kayade', (Goa Tribunal de Relacao de Goa, 1953).
Mohanty P,K,'Encyclopedia of scheduled Tribes in India' (Badatanava Undubiyar Samyuktha,Karnataka,1990).
Mann,R.S.,Antropological & Sociological theory –Approaches and Applications,(Rawat,Jaipur,1984).
Mann and Mann K.,Tribal Cultures & Change, (Mittal, New Delhi, 1989).
Prabhudesai, V,B,'Satravya shatakatil Gomantaki Boli', (Bombay University of Bombay, 1963).
Prabhu,S.S.,The Konkani people,Amche Daaiz, (The Ambrisian,Mangalore,1965).
Pratapshinh Velip Kankar, 'Kalchakra'(Pratim publisher,Margao, 1998).
_____, 'Hire Moti' (Part –I), (Pratim publisher, Margao, 2003).
Priolkar, P.K.,'Granthic Marathi Bhasha Ani Konkani Boli Pune', (Pune Vidyapeeth, 1966).
Priolkar, A.K.,'Ajcha va kalcha Gomantak' (The Goa Ass., Bombay,1954).
Priolkar, A.K.,'Goa; rediscovered' (Bhatkal Bks. Int.,Bombay, 1967).
Priolkar, A.K.,'Goa; fact versus fiction (The Goa Ass.,Bombay, 1962).
Pamecha Renuka, Elites in a Tribal Society, Printwell,Jaipur,1985.

Rodrigues, Santana,'The origin of Konkani language', The paper read at the XVIIth International congress of orientatlists 1928., (Coimbra, 1929).
Ravindranath Rao Y., ' Kudubis of south India' Mangala (Publication, Mangalore, 2003).
Radcliffe Brown, A.R.,'Structure and Function in Primitive Society', (Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1979).
Rui Gomes Pereira, 'Goa Hindu Temples and Deities'(Printwell Press, Panaji, 1978).
Rajyalakshmi, P., Tribal food habits, Gian, (New Delhi,1991).
Saldanha Jerome A,Origin and Growth of Konkani or Goan communities and Language, (The Anglo-Lusitano Press, 1938).
Sheik Ali B., 'Goa wins freedom', (Goa University, Bambolim – Goa, 1973).
Sheik Ali B., 'Goa through the Ages' Vol. II, (Goa University, Bambolim, 1990).
Sing, K.S., People of India, Goa Vol. XXI,(Popular Prakashan Pvt.Ltd.,Bombay,1993).
Shrinivas, M.N.,Religion and society among the coorgs of south India,(reprinted) (J.K.Publishers,London,1978).
Shashi Bharti,Tribal culture, Economy and Health, (Rawat,Jaipur,1991).
Satosker, B.D., 'Gomantak Prakruti ani Sawskruti', Vol. II, (Shubhada-Saraswat publication, Pune, 1982).
Thurston, Edger,Caste and Tribes of South India,(Vol I to VII (Madras Govt. Press,1909).
Thakkar,A.V., The problem of Aborgins in India, (Poona Gokhale Institute, 1941).
Varde Valavlikar, V.R., 'Goenkaranchi Goyan Bhayali Vasnuk', (Paila khand, Gomantak publication, Bombay, 1938).

Verekar N.D. 'Gomantakiya Brahmanettar – he sarva shudra ahet kai'? (D.V.Divkar publication, Margao, 1937).
Vinayak Vishnu Khedekar, 'Goa Kudubis',(Mahesh Angale, Tiswadi Goa, 2004).
Vinayak Vishnu Khedekar, 'Shreeman Shiroda', (Shivgram Education Society, Shiroda, 2001).
Vidyarthi and Rai, B.K, The Tribal Culture of India, (Concept publication, Delhi, 197)7.

List of the Photos:

1. Gawda womens performing 'Foogdi'.
2. Kunbi performing the Kunbi Dance.
3. Womens performing Dhalo Dance.
4. Kunbi at traditional Dance.
5. Kunbi women with 'Dethali'.
6. Tarnga at the time of Shigmo at Canacona, Goa.
7. Bhagat performing 'Prasad' in the temple.
8. Seat of the 'Budvant'.
9. Women near the Tulshi Vrundavan from Dakshina Kannada District.
10. Lord Malikarjuna at Canancona, Goa
11. Kunbi Couple of Dakshina Kannada District.
12. Religious festival
13. Kunbi couple.
14. Kunbi womens
15. Kunbi Women at work.
16. Musical Instruments.
17. Musical Instrument called 'Ghumat'.
18. Kunbi settlement in Dakshina Kannada District.
19. Shisharanni at Canacona, Goa.
20. Kunbi couple of Goa.

1

2

3

4

1

2

3

4

5

6

'Tarara' at Cimarena

7

8

9

10

Lord Mallikarjun at Temple

11

12

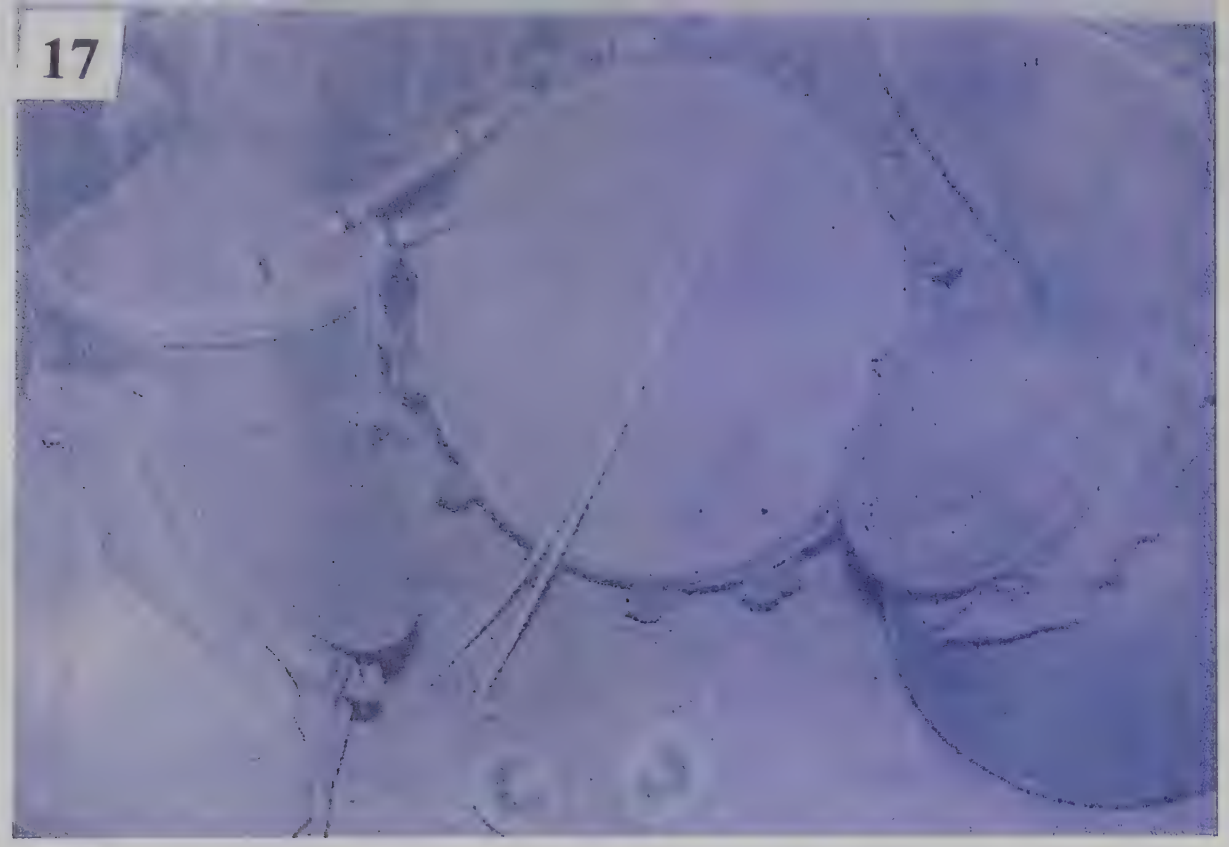
13

14

15

16

17



18

19

20

243

049214

AKSHARA GRANTHALAYA
ACC.NO.049214